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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

# WASHINGTON, D. C.

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FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

## ROSA AND HER SUITORS.

### A TALE OF SWEDISH DOMESTIC LIFE.

BY EMILIE F. CARLEN,

*Author of "One Year of Wedlock," "The Bride of Omburg," &c., &c.*

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERCE.

### CHAP. VII.

### *Hilda Borgenskold.*

On the evening of the day on which occurred the incidents we have just related, Mrs. Borgenskold, an elderly and venerable lady, was seated upon her little sofa, busied in mending a well-worn shawl, which had been her true friend and companion since her youthful days. Her daughter, Hilda, was seated near a table at the window, writing as industriously as a Secretary of State. The apartment was simple, but clean and orderly, though the whole picture betrayed very, very narrow means.

The two ladies continued their work some time in silence. At length, Hilda arose; the deepening twilight made it impossible for her to continue her writing. She walked up and down the room several times, whilst her mother cast at her every now and then a stolen glance, and secretly wiped away a falling tear with one end of her dear old shawl.

Hilda Borgenskold was a remarkably handsome girl, and, in addition to this, she had a good heart, a clear head, and a cultivated mind, but also a certain (and not inconsiderable) degree of pride in these advantages, and which were of more worth in her estimation than those of fortune, which she had rather a contempt for, when unaccompanied by the former. Beauty, however, she excepted, for she had too much nobleness of character to make that a main point of consideration. For some years she had accustomed herself both to love and respect her cousin Ferdinand; and, though he had never formally sought her hand, she had always, though she scarcely knew why, regarded him as the person who was to promote her future happiness—for, a thousand times over, he had assured her that there could be no happiness for him on earth, in which she was not to be a sharer.

Hilda believed him, and gave him credit in heart for the delicacy with which he avoided earnestly seeking from her a promise of constancy, before he could make her an offer to share his fate forever. The report which spoke of his addresses to Rosa Widen she despised, as without foundation, and not worth a thought. Ah, she should have known him better. However, no matter how strongly rooted may be our hopes, they are not secure against the storms of fate. Soon, too soon, came the moment when Ferdinand, confused and embarrassed, stammered out something about the necessity of giving up the hope of possessing her, as it was impossible for him to see this long-cherished hope realized, because urgent circumstances which he could not name had occurred to prevent it.

Hilda heard him through with admirable fortitude; her pride, struggling against the wounded feelings of her heart, enabled her to appear composed, cold, and determined, and she gravely but politely wished him happiness in the new engagement he had contracted. Then, however, her power of self-control was exhausted, and, briefly bidding him farewell, she coldly and proudly left the room, and hurried to her own apartment. Here her feelings of sorrow asserted their right, at finding herself thus slighted and deceived by the man whom she had loved so fondly and so well. Full of bitterness was the hour which so cruelly destroyed all the delightful dreams of her young and joyous heart. As soon, however, as she began to regard the matter in a calmer light, she experienced a feeling of contempt for the weakness and inconstancy of Ferdinand, whose selfishness had led him to seek a woman for his wife whom he did not love. He now appeared to her a man of no exalted principles—one of those men who can love to a certain extent, and feel happy if their love meets with no obstacles, but can quite coolly yield to reason and circumstances, even should those circumstances demand the entire renunciation of love and fidelity, and deem himself fortunate that no formal declaration had been made, so that he can withdraw with outward honor.

That this was the turn Ferdinand's thoughts had taken, Hilda saw plainly enough. For a long term of years, he had been as devoted to her as he possibly could be; but, at the least obstacle, he was ready to sacrifice his affection for her; and, in Hilda's opinion, he became a poor, weak, contemptible being, and, as such, could not be even an object of regret to her. After what had occurred, she would not have united her fate with his at any price, even had she received the Professor's whole estate as a dowry, and his blessing besides; but it grieved and wounded her, to think she should have been the object of such a frivolous inclination.

In the mean time, Ferdinand could not reconcile himself to the idea of being scorned by the only woman he ever really loved, and, deeply regretting the errors which had led to all this, he resolved to make a full confession to Hilda, and if she would forgive, he would submit himself to his fate; but she resolutely rejected all explanation, either verbally or in writing. Never would she listen to another word from his lips, not even from his pen—she would know nothing about it, she would forget and be forgotten.

This was what she wished, and she was one of those characters, so rarely found in woman, who do not in their love find a thousand excuses to justify the weakness of their lovers. She had forever renounced all connection with Ferdinand, and she kept her word; no time nor circumstances were capable of changing her mind. Where her thoughts were lingering, as she slowly paced the room in the twilight, with her hands crossed upon her bosom, we cannot tell. We presume that Ferdinand had no share therein—for she walked quickly up to the sofa, threw her arms about her mother's neck, and said, in a joyous tone—

"That will do; we shall decidedly get our travelling expenses, and something over. I can see beforehand how happy papa will be, and I will gladly work by day to manage the household matters, and write mornings and evenings."

"And destroy yourself," interrupted Mrs. Borgenskold, "in order to support your poor parents, and help them out of their troubles? Ah, my dear Hilda, it grieves me much that I must see your youth pass away so joylessly."

"Do not talk so, my dear mother," entreated Hilda. "What enjoyments have I to regret? Do I not already have more than our income justifies? And you may believe me, mamma, it is far from a sacrifice to me to busy myself about our travelling expenses; indeed, it gives me much delight to be able to do it, for my heart longs for some other place of abode—for the country, I mean."

She quickly added—

"It would kill me to be obliged to live in town another summer; and I can never be sufficiently grateful for the unexpected source of profit which my knowledge of French has opened to us. I think, by means of the translation of these two works, we shall be able not merely to cover the expenses of our journey, but to lay by a small sum besides, in order to purchase a few absolutely necessary articles."

"And you feel sure, my poor Hilda, that you can accomplish all this before the end of May?" asked her mother, with an incredulous shake of the head.

"Decidedly I do, mamma," answered Hilda. "Towards the middle of May, I trust to be able to dispatch it, and by the end of the month I shall receive the price; so, on the first of June, we will pack up all our little property, and embark on board Captain R——'s fast-sailing sloop, which makes such rapid passages to Halmstadt, and from there we will go the ten or twelve miles by land. It is very disagreeable that the dear little place is not near the sea! but we must put up with that; we must be sure to be there to the day and hour; and I am delighted beforehand, when I think of papa's pleasure at seeing us again. You have no idea how much I mean to enjoy myself there, only the mornings and evenings I must have to myself. Oh, mamma, you shall see how glorious it all will be!"

"But, Hilda! what in Heaven's name has come to you? I never saw you so full of spirit," cried Mrs. Borgenskold, who could not help smiling at Hilda's gayety; "I hope, my dear child, you may not be disappointed."

"And just exactly because my dear mother will take such a gloomy view of affairs," said Hilda, earnestly, "I wish to draw pleasant, laughing pictures of our future; and if *God* wills it, I hope all will go well."

"I would I had somewhat of your light and happy spirit, my child," sighed Mrs. Borgenskold. "Aye, much I wish it, but the Professor's harshness is ever in my mind. He could have helped your father, but"——

"But, dear mamma," said Hilda, finishing the broken sentence, "my uncle had already warned papa that he would ruin himself by engaging in this matter; and told him, also, not to calculate upon any assistance from him, should he do so. I remember very well, too, that the Professor vowed, at the same time, that if papa would not listen to his advice while there was a possibility of safety, he would not listen to him, nor the intercession of others for him, in future. How can we, then, reproach uncle? When papa believed his false friend, and became security for him, and thus lost his property, we should have been totally ruined, if papa had not, by the Professor's means, obtained the superintendence of the little property of Lindfors, in Smaaland. It is not much, God knows; but papa can live upon it, and we, too, if we are willing to limit ourselves, and can only reach there, as his letters assure us. Now we have the means to do this; and so, dear mamma, there is no need to worry ourselves."

"Oh, my dear Hilda, you know not what a weight is on my heart," said her mother, softly, as she wiped away some silently-trickling tears. "A heavy burden, child, for I am the one who has brought this trouble and sorrow, from which we all suffer, upon your father's head; for it was solely on my account that the hostility between the brothers first arose."

"How so, mamma, dear?" asked Hilda, seating herself upon a stool at her mother's feet. "Tell me all that troubles you. I would so gladly share and soothe your every sorrow, or at least convince my dear mamma that it is easier to endure when imparted to another."

"My own good child, you can do nothing here," said her mother, with a sad smile. "This sorrow is older than yourself. It is the knowledge, which has pursued me for many a long year, that your father, through his marriage with me, a poor girl of low station, has been removed from quite another sphere of life than that which the pressure of circumstances compelled him to occupy. At the time of which I speak, your father was a young ensign, and the Professor, his half brother, who was several years his senior, had just retired from public life, and settled down with considerable property in our town of H——, and lived wholly retired, with no other society than that of your father and his little nephew, Ferdinand, whom he had already adopted as his own child on the death of his parents. At this time, your papa became acquainted with me. I was then employed as a seamstress, and he could not bear to see the neglect to which I was exposed, and resolved, in the thoughtfulness of youth, to leave the army, marry me, and live on the little property inherited from his mother. Oh, how weak and selfish I was! I accepted his offer; but I loved Herman so fervently, and imagined that my love would recompense him for every sacrifice—enough, he had not long to persuade before I gave my consent. The Professor was furious. He left no means untried to turn Herman from his purpose, which he termed a piece of folly; but his reasonings were of no avail. Your father held to his resolution, and the brothers parted in anger. Herman retired with the rank of lieutenant, and purchased that pretty little corner house which we were afterwards obliged to sell. We settled in our self-constituted paradise, and lived happily with and for each other—though not perfectly happy, for I will be candid with you. Herman often sighed in silence, and was often tempted to regret his over-hasty step, though his noble heart led him to endeavor to conceal this from me. But how could he possibly hide it long from the vigilant eyes of an affectionate wife? We lived in continual apprehension of injuring each other's feelings, and were compelled to observe a cautious reserve in all our words—thus giving rise to a mutual relation which was unnatural, and could not be happy. Aside from that, we each felt that we had not acted rightly, and we were compelled to expiate our error by long years of self-reproach.

"At your birth, my Hilda, your father, for the first time since his marriage, visited the Professor, and, with deep emotion, urged and entreated him to forget the difference which had continued a whole year between them, and to come to his home and bless his child. But the Professor was inexorable; he refused to stand godfather to our child, or to have anything to do with us. Deeply hurt and humiliated, my Herman returned, and grieved in silence. Years passed away, and his only pleasure and employment was to work in the little bit of ground we possessed in the vicinity of the town. Here he spent his time and his money. One day, taking our dinner with us, we went there to enjoy the solitude, and to delight our eyes with the hopeful promises of an abundant harvest, which was spread out before us. Next to our little piece of ground was a meadow, which belonged to the Professor; and God only knows how it happened, but your uncle had that very day made his old housekeeper and his servant pack up all the requisites for comfort and enjoyment, and, in company with Ferdinand, was now in the meadow.

"Ferdinand was a boy, about twelve years old, and appeared full of life and happiness. At this period, my dear Hilda, you were a little five-years-old flutterer, springing from flower to flower, and, in your efforts to catch the butterflies, had strolled farther from my watchful eyes than I had intended, and it was not until I was about preparing our repast that I first missed you. Springing up in the greatest anxiety, I hastened to look after my darling. At length, after searching long in vain, I ventured to approach the hedge which separated our garden from the meadow. I looked cautiously through, and was on the point of screaming for joy. I beheld you sitting upon the Professor's knee, playing with his long, gray hair, as contentedly as possible. I saw an evident expression of benevolence and kindness in his eyes, and, without a moment's thought, I softly stepped over the low hedge, and went quickly up to you. As soon as the Professor saw me, he arose, put you down upon the grass, and, with a gloomy look and a half bow, said—

"'Pray excuse me, madam—the little girl was curious; she climbed up the hedge, and unfortunately stuck there, and would perhaps have fallen and injured herself, had not my nephew been at hand, and lifted her over.'

"I stood there before this so-much-dreaded personage, with cast-down eyes, whilst you flew into my arms, and clasped your little hands about my neck. Deeply did I feel in my heart that such a moment would probably never occur again, to endeavor to effect a reconciliation—a soft voice whispered within me, 'try, only try, you will surely succeed.'

"And I obeyed. God alone inspired me with such words as touched his heart; and my bosom throbbed with joyful feeling, as I marked the icy crust which closed his heart gradually thaw before my entreaties and tears; and he promised to give his hand to Herman, in token of re-established peace and brotherly love.

"Ferdinand was commissioned to seek your father; and the moment in which they again clasped each other's hands, and met once more as friends, as brothers, was the first of pure, unmingled happiness in my existence. We passed an evening of peace and joy together, and for many a year lived in unity and affection.

"But now your father fell upon the unlucky idea of engaging in business with Mr. Brocker, and this man succeeded in completely engaging us both in his favor. From the very commencement, the Professor warned us against him.

"At length, however, the unhappy endorsement was mentioned. You remember how the Professor urged your father to have nothing to do with it; but you do know that. I myself, overcome by Brocker's eloquence and plausibility, persuaded your father, almost against his own wish, to endorse his note. Had it not been for me, he would have done as the Professor advised him. My participation in this affair makes my grief doubly bitter—though Herman, noble soul, has never reproached me, even with a single nod or look. He knew that my burden would be heavy enough in my own self-reproaches, which never left me, and the torturing assurance that I had been a second time the cause of his rupture with his brother. Their friendship is now forever at an end; and I believe that it was to get rid of your father's careworn features, that he procured the superintendency in Smaaland for him."

"Oh! my dear mother, do not think so," said Hilda, earnestly; "you wrong him very much. He is a strict man, and one who never breaks his word; we have nothing to blame him for; and when we leave H——, I must go and see him once at all events, and bid him farewell. In the mean time, my dear mother, we must thank God for granting us one little gleam of hope, of light, and of future peace and comfort; and if you were wrong in persuading papa to take this step, you have suffered deeply for it, as I feel and know. It would be wrong to grieve for it any longer. Your presence will restore papa to energy and activity, and he will unite his efforts with mine to make you forget what is past and gone.

"I feel, myself, a degree of energy and resolution, and also of contentment—a sure hope within, that tells me we may yet be far happier than we have ever been."

Then, my dear child, I will endeavor to hope also, and look upon the bright side of the picture; but, Heaven bless us, it is quite dark; go, Hilda, dear, and bring a candle."

Hilda obeyed, and the table was placed in the middle of the room. The young girl arranged her writing materials, placed her mother's arm chair and footstool for her, and prepared her work for the evening. While Hilda was making these preparations, Mrs. Borgenskold took some apples from the stove, which had been roasting, put them on a little plate, and, placing them near Hilda's inkstand, said, "Now, my child, you must take some refreshments. Truly, our lot is changed; but we must submit, and thank God that it is no worse."

"Oh yes, dear mamma! and this is a splendid supper, too," answered Hilda, smiling, as she helped herself to the hot apples with her little white fingers; "they are excellent, and we are yet to be so happy." Hilda now put her paper in order, and took her pen, her mother busied herself with her work, and in a short time, nothing disturbed the silence of the apartment, save the sound of Hilda's pen, as it rapidly flew over the paper, and the sharp click of her mother's knitting-needles.

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For the National Era

## ZENOBIA

### OF THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE.

"Zenobia and Hollingsworth were friends no longer. If their heartstrings were ever intertwined, the knot had been adjudged an entanglement, and was now violently broken. * * * * * *

"Putting a fury of strength into the effort, Hollingsworth heaved amain, and up came a white swash to the surface of the river. It was the flow of a woman's garments. A little higher, and we saw her dark hair streaming down the current. Black River of Death, thou hast yielded up thy victim! Zenobia was found."—*Blithedale Romance.*

Rowers on a sluggish stream,
Dark with middle night,
Showing, in the moon's pale gleam,
Faces of affright—
Bending with such fearful gaze
O'er the boat's low side,
What is that your strong arms raise,
Dripping, from the tide?
Trailing garments rise, and flow,
From the rocking boat;
Long dark tresses, to and fro,
On the waters float.

"Take her from the cruel wave!
Give me back the oar!
She shall have a warmer grave,
Inland from the shore.
Fair amongst the fairest she,
Proud as she was fair,
Can this wreck of woman be
Aught so bright and rare?

"At a few brief hours' remove,
Far in yonder wood,
Warm with beating life and love,
As a queen she stood;
With a rare imperial grace
In her step and mien,
Regal both in form and face,
Was she not a queen!

* * * * * * * *

"Still in masker's quaint array,
Ere an hour had gone,
Prone upon the earth she lay,
Crushed by cruel scorn.
Hurt too deep for easing tears,
For her love repulsed,
Woman's pride and woman's fears
All her soul convulsed.
For, like any simple maid,
Counting not the cost,
In the game of life she played,
Staked her heart, and—lost!
Rifled of the casket's hoard,
Beggared of her love,
(For, alas! she had not stored
Of its wealth above,)
Earth was darker than the grave,
Dark and lonely both;
Life was colder than the wave,
Sought so little loath.

* * * * * * * *

"Rising from th' unequal strife,
Strong in conq'ring pride,
As she reigned a queen in life,
So a queen she died.
From the glad rejoicing day,
From the summer skies,
Passed she royally away,
Crowned in festal guise."

JANET HALE.

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The *Albany Register*, whose publisher is an Englishman, and whose editor was once an active Abolitionist, is now the State organ of Hindoo Americanism, and particularly good at upholding the Fugitive Slave Law, and saving the Union generally. Half its columns are given up to attacks on "Fusion," and the idea of *Whigs* voting for Abijah Mann and Preston King; mixed up with which, we find a glorifying account of the Know Nothing Convention in Ulster county, closing as follows:

"It gives us pleasure to state that all the deliberations of the Convention, and the results of its actions, were harmonious. *The Convention seemed to have entirely dropped the idea of Whig or Democrat, and to have thought only of America and Americans. All past antagonisms were buried; all old political associations were forgotten,* and the delegates animated by a common sentiment for the good of the country and county."

Can it be possible that the people do not understand these gentlemen? They "fused" a year ago, ignoring all the issues which they now declare so important, and supporting just such politicians as they now declare utterly unworthy of a Whig's vote. Scroggs and Sanders, on their State ticket, never had been, never pretended to be, aught but Democrats, until they blundered blindly into Know Nothing lodges. They did not profess to have there received any new light, except upon Nativism and Popery. And yet they were supported by the same ex-Whig journals and politicians that now proclaim their abhorrence of "Fusion," and of the support of Democrats by Whigs! Have these experimenters on public credulity no sense of shame?—*N. Y. Tribune.*

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For the National Era.

## Truth is indeed Stranger than Fiction.

BY MINNIE MYRTLE.

A wreck, a perfect wreck! Who is she, and how came she thus? Where can I find words to tell the story? What an endless array of stories they would be, were I to gather up and weave together all the shreds of just such wrecks scattered throughout this city—yes, throughout all the cities of the land!

Is there no such thing as honor? I am almost ready to ask. No such thing as a noble soul, incorruptible, unstained, and true? Must we go on, forever recording baseness and portraying falsehood, and must every day reveal to us some dark plot that makes us shudder?

There is a man, whose name is on the lips of every lover of all that is beautiful in sentiment and expression; around whom the brightest luminaries of literature gather, to listen to his words of wisdom; who moves a very god in the circles of wealth and rank and fashion, and sees the multitude bow down to him with little less than adoration, in the land where a queen delights to do him honor. And here, in this low, dismal cellar, the companion of those who have ruined health and bartered happiness for the cup that destroys soul and body, is lying one whom he allured, through the agency of those who are the willing instruments of such dark deeds, from a home and a watchful mother's care, and consigned to the keeping of those whose very food is the blood of the innocent, that she might be prepared to minister to his unhallowed passions.

She was modest, industrious, and frugal, and toiled diligently to support an aged mother; and day after day went to and fro, unconscious of pit-falls, and never dreaming of snares. But she had beauty! Why did God give that curse to an orphan girl?

She is met one day by a girl of her own age, who accosts her kindly and seeks her sympathy, as she is of the same class and in the same employment; and, during several succeeding meetings, an intimacy springs up, which makes their pathway pleasant, and cheers their lonely hours. Nothing is said that can excite her suspicion or offend her delicacy. Her young companion accompanies her home—they walk together, and become confiding in their friendship. How can she suspect evil in one as young, as seemingly artless and innocent, as herself? She is in turn invited to *her* home, and is received by one whom she calls mother, and treated in such a way as to win her heart. Again and again she repeats the visit, till at length she finds her feet in the fatal snare, from which there is no escape. Bars and bolts surround her, and familiar faces no longer meet her eye.

Then comes the spoiler, with his soft speech and flattering tongue, and she answers with piteous cries and tears. But when was such a heart peirced by an orphan's wail, or melted by an orphan's tears?

In a little time the doors are again opened, and she is cast forth to return to a widowed and helpless mother with the story of her wrong and outrage, and to meet the reproach of an unbelieving and unpitying world. As yet, she knows not the name of her destroyer—he came unushered—the hands of strangers brought her food, who were deaf to her entreaties, and speechless concerning her fate. Her sleep was haunted by frightful dreams, and the realities of her waking hours were more dreadful than her dreams. But, lo! there is a great festival in honor of some peer of the realm—kings and queens and princes are in the pompous throng—for miles the street is lined with the imposing cavalcade, and the sounds of drum and trumpet fill the air with their solemn music.

Among the rabble, who gaze and wonder at the grand display, may be seen a young girl, miserably clad, dejected and desperate, watching with an eye like the eagle's—fixing upon every face a glance which must make the guilty cower, if he meet it, shielded though he be by the smiles of princes and the favor of potentates.

Faded and haggard as she is, a livid pallor creeps over her face, and a faint scream escapes her. She has seen him! He is the companion of dukes and earls, and receives the homage of dignitaries; but he has no title except what he has won, and no rank which his labor has not earned. Oh, why should he have added infamy to honor, and woven for himself a wreath on which the deadly nightshade shed its poisonous breath, to make it a vile and polluted thing, from which the pure and good must ever shrink with loathing!

She has seen him, and there is one by her side who marks him well. In a little while they meet, and confusion covers him—not for his sin, but that his guilt has found him out. The law and its denunciations stare him in the face, and he trembles, proud, heartless man that he is, for he would shrink before the fingers of public scorn, though he has no fear of the frown of Heaven.

But he has wealth, and the law is not above bribery—the scales of justice may be swayed by gold. Injured innocence may cry aloud, may lift up her voice in the street, but there is none to answer. Let her cover herself with ashes, and put on sackcloth, and go about mourning, for righteousness has hid herself, and the voice of mercy awakes not for the desolate among her children.

Again the broken-hearted one is thrown back upon the world—an aged mother goes down sorrowing to the grave, and a son is born to call her mother, and inherit his father's temperament and his callous heart. But, ere he can scarcely lisp her name, he is taken from her, and transported to a foreign land; and there, homeless and friendless and reckless, she follows him, for she cannot break the only chain which binds her to a living soul.

After long and perilous journeys by sea and land, she discovers where he has been hid, but it is to bring no comfort to her wounded spirit. He has been supplied with money, and he has been taught to hate her. He calls her names, and stings her with bitter reproaches.

Where, now, shall she flee, to shelter herself from mockery, and shield herself from biting scorn? From city to city she wanders, asking work of one and bread of another; now sitting down by the wayside, to bury her face in her hands, and weep in utter desolation; and now attempting to shake off the remembrance of her misfortune, and apply herself to toil diligently with her needle, with which are linked the sweet associations of her girlhood and her happy home. But when alone, the bitter memories come rushing back, and her spirit writhes beneath the torture. She prays for idiocy and for madness—and, oh, for death and oblivion! She snatches the pen, and writes words of fire to him who sits at ease, surrounded with regal splendor, planning the wreck of others as deliberately as he plotted her ruin; and if it were not seared, like living coals would they fall upon his guilty soul. But there comes back no answer, to soothe or goad to misery. What cares he for a woman's woes? Her voice can no longer reach those whose good opinion alone he cares to win, and so he laughs at her calamity, and curls his lip with contempt at her upbraidings.

She repeats to him some of those golden sentences with which fame has wrought the diadem for his brow—one of the brightest with which she has crowned her votaries—and asks him if he would like her history engraven on its front!

How good and noble he seems, when we read his words; how they stir the inmost depths of the soul, and spur it to lofty deeds. How sweetly he talks of love; how touchingly he pictures sorrow, and yet it was he who deliberately allured this fair young creature to destruction; flung her upon the heartless world, to reap its bitterest curses; saw her going down step by step to poverty and hopeless want, while he was revelling in luxury, and neither pitied nor helped; read her heart-rending appeals, and carelessly tossed them in the flames, congratulating himself that she was helpless and powerless, and went on writing what the world still applauds, and what future generations will repeat with enthusiasm, thinking what a pure and noble heart he had!

How little the world knows of what is going on behind the silken curtains which veil its heart-scenes from common eyes. Oh, the deep fountains of love which should be welling up life and joy and gladness, but are turned to gall, and send forth bitterness, because of those who poison the sources and pollute the streams by their dark and fiendish passions.

Now, just look with me into that abode of squalid wretchedness, where vice and filth, in every disgusting form, run riot, the very last portal to eternal death, and see her who was once fair as the beauteous daughter who is your pride and idol, the stay and comfort of a pious and widowed mother, happy in her conscious integrity and honest toil, revelling in the bright dreams of her girlish and untutored fancy, one who would have made a bright and happy home, and trained others to be a blessing in the world, but now a wreck in mind and body, raving in wild delirium—the delirium of the maddening cup and midnight revel; sunken, crushed, and ruined; haggard, bloated, diseased; cursing, groaning, dying; a fallen one, a lost one—and let not your eyes shrink from beholding, nor your heart shut itself up from compassion, neither censure her who draws the truthful but revolting picture, but resolve that there shall be one to put her mite into the scale of public sentiment to anathematize and condemn, gifted and high-born though they be, those who now waste and desolate almost with impunity—and yet, compared with whom, he who takes life should be an innocent and honored man.

The victim first resorted to intoxication to drown her misery, and, though again and again she repented, and fled from temptation, again and again, woe-stricken and frantic, she flew to it for relief. At length it performed its work—the spirit's wail was hushed on earth, and I will not follow her beyond the grave, for "God is the Judge of the widow and the fatherless;" and when I see the "oppression of the poor, and the perverting of judgment and justice," I remember that "there is One higher than the highest," He who holds the balances in which all shall be finally weighed, and who "will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil."

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For the National Era.

## INELEGANT LANGUAGE.

BY ELLEN C. HOBBS.

Next to profanity, vulgarisms most tarnish conversation. Let woman beware of them. No *profane thought* could ever pollute the soul of a true woman. The broad command of God, "Thou shalt not take my name in vain," engraven on the heart, rings a sentence of condemnation in the ears of every offender. There is no command of the Decalogue more suggestive of God's power, of our own nothingness, of death and eternity, than this plain assumption, on the part of the Creator, of that reverence due to him from dependent creatures. No being, true to the innate promptings of an enlightened conscience, would break the spirit of the law by lightly using the names of God's manifold attributes. Far be it, then, from any one, who has in him a spark of manliness, to take in vain the name of that God who made him to do his will.

We heard an oath from the lip of a woman the other day; but, alas! before our eyes rested on her haggard features, we felt that every gentle virtue of her sex had departed from her. Could that coarse, cracked voice ever have rung gladly in human ear? We shuddered as we passed her, and drew our garments closely round us; we could not help it. A woman, in whose once gentle soul God's love was taught by instinct, on a public street was deliberately taking his name in vain! We pitied her, but, Heaven forgive us! we loathed her.

Mayhap our sensibilities were rendered more acute than usual by that street scene, and this was the reason why we left the elegant mansion, whither we were bound, less pleased than ever with the standard of refinement in the language of our sex. We had called upon a female acquaintance, noted for the delicate beauty of her face and her taste in dress. She greeted us, as ever, with a pleasant, sunny smile, and we could but admire the artistic effect of her infantile features, so warmly colored, set off by the chaste elegance of her attire. The *coup d'œil* was admirable. We are an admirer of female charms, and caught ourself wondering why this same beautiful girl was so little sought, so little *appreciated*, as we thought, in general society. She opened her lips, and the secret was out. We had been attracted by that same finely-chiselled mouth, the evening before, in the lecture-room, and it was but natural that we should ask her opinion of our favorite orator. "I met him on the street, and I thought he seemed *real consequential,*" was the polished reply! The charm was broken. We could have forgiven her the want of ideas, not much affecting strong-minded women. Her beauty was God's glorious gift, and might cover a multitude of defects; but, alas! the intense vulgarity of that expression, "*real consequential!*" we would not enter that girl on our list of friends, for all her heart's love! What worthy aspirations could she be susceptible of, whose soul such an expression would not rasp, after eighteen years mingling in polite society! We say soul, not mind, for we believe in some delicate, ethereal instinct, which prompts to nice, oftentimes we might say delicious, symbols of ideas. Who does not hear poetry, unpolished, from the lips of the ignorant, while the most arrant vulgarisms escape the tenderly bred!

"*It's real pretty,*" fell from the lips of a lady at the Springs. She was young, rich, and beautiful, rightly the cynosure of all eyes; moreover, she had a head and a heart; the former well filled, the latter well trained. She was a delicate, high-minded woman, to whom wise men loved to listen—yet, that one careless expression, *real pretty*, spoken thoughtlessly about a trifling object, lost her a noble and prized lover. We do not approve his morbid fastidiousness, yet like the moral. A host of kindred expressions pass before us, reproaching us certainly not for long disuse.

We were struck, a short time since, by the elegant appearance of a visiter of one of our friends. We knew her name and her family, and had a right to expect an agreeable companion. A crowd separated us; but, by dint of effort, we had nearly reached her, when we heard her exclaim loudly, to the gentleman who escorted her, "*I believe I shall be punched to death.*" We turned back, and, when afterwards unavoidably thrown in her presence, had no reason to change our first impression. We could not help contrasting her with a servant in our father's family, a foundling, taken from an asylum, who, during her three years' sojourn with us, was never heard to use a single inelegant or vulgar expression. To be sure, she sometimes too much slighted good old Saxon English, in dealing with the common details of life; yet how much oftener did she delightfully surprise us, by the aptness of her questions, by the elegance of her speech.

Why, I once heard a woman, moving in the polite circles of a large city, repeatedly exclaiming, "*by gorry,*" in a crowded railroad station—an expression which would have grated none the less harshly on the polished ear of our servant, because it was lisped by a graceful woman of fashion.

A certain freedom of language may be peculiar to certain localities; but, the whole world over, there is too little regard paid to its use among those from whom might be expected pure English undefiled. An avoidance of cant expressions would do more towards refinement in language than a sprinkling of every foreign tongue. For each idea, there is an appropriate symbol, which will easily suggest itself to every observant, fastidious woman. Few women are called upon to converse much in general society; fewer still are fitted to do it. Cheering words, not strong ideas, are looked for most from beautiful women. How important is it, then, that whenever she opens her lips, there should drop, as from the fairy-gifted of German tale, a pearl to dazzle the eyes and strengthen the impression!

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For the National Era.

## Sketch of the Political History of Europe,

FROM

## THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS, IN 1814,

TILL

## THE PRESENT TIME.

BY A FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

### CHAPTER XXI.

During a few hours of the night between the 23d and 24th of February, there was a deceitful tranquillity throughout the greatest part of Paris; but in the heart of the *old city*, in the vicinity of St. Martin's square, a body of revolutionists were busily engaged in tearing up the pavement of the streets, and raising a great number of barricades. At daybreak, ominous reports of discharged fire-arms were heard at intervals, rousing even the inhabitants of the Tuileries from their sleep. The proclamation announcing the change of Ministers, which, under the darkness of the night, had been affixed to the walls of some of the houses and other objects in the disaffected districts, was not signed, and had therefore no other effect than to awaken the suspicion that it was intended to serve as a mere trick for suppressing the compulsory measures against the Government. Hence the revolutionary party, instead of desisting from any further violence, as M. Thiers had expected, became still more excited to act with vigor.

But Marshal Bugeaud, who during the night had been informed of his being appointed commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris, and of the troops present in that city, immediately hastened to issue such directions as he deemed necessary, in order to suppress the insurrectionary movement. Two columns, consisting of 3,500 men each, and provided with artillery, were formed, under the respective command of Generals Bedeau and Sebastiani, in order to scour the boulevards and the streets in their vicinity, as well as those nearer to the Seine, and then to meet at the Hotel de Ville, of which they were to take possession, as a *point d'appui* of the highest importance. The reserve, consisting of about 9,000 men, and stationed in the neighborhood of the Tuileries, was intrusted to the command of Gen. Lamoriciere, between whom and the Marshal there had for some time been some estrangement, on account of disputes relative to the manner of conducting the war in Africa, but which both these equally generous as heroic men readily now forgot, in order to co-operate for the maintenance of order.

The troops, under the command of Generals Bedeau and Sebastiani, removed the barricades, and, dispersing the crowds which they met with, and which hailed them with cries of "*Vive l'Armée!*" "*Vive le Reforme!*" penetrated, without experiencing any resistance, almost to the neighborhood of the Hotel de Ville.

The Marshal was meanwhile collecting other troops, in order to direct attacks against the more strongly fortified positions of the insurgents, but was prevented from executing this design by the orders of the King, enjoining him to desist from any aggressive measures, and to recall the columns advancing towards the Hotel de Ville. He obeyed, but with evident expressions of displeasure.

The recall of these troops had a very fatal effect, because the soldiers considered themselves humiliated and dishonored in being obliged to return, as if they had been defeated; and their very return appeared, in the eyes of the people, as a sign of either dissatisfaction or defeat on the part of the troops. From that moment, the cause of the King was, in fact, lost beyond redemption.

Early in the morning of the 24th, M. Thiers, still very hopeful, as it would appear, hastened to the Tuileries, in order to arrange definitely with the King relative to the formation of the new Cabinet.

Soon after him, several members of the constitutional opposition, who, while friends of the principles of freedom, were nevertheless anxious to preserve the monarchical form of government, together with several Generals, who were ready to spill their blood in defence of the King, arrived at the royal palace. Among the former, the principal were, M. Dovergier Hauranne, M. Crimineux, and M. Remusat; and among the latter, the most distinguished were the celebrated Marshal Gérard and Gen. Lamoriciere.

On the arrival of M. Thiers at the Tuileries, the King was still asleep, not at all apprehensive of the dangers which were hourly increasing. These were, however, much greater than any of those assembled in the palace imagined—the revolutionary torrent progressing with a rapidity far beyond all anticipation.

The students and youth of the schools, forming long columns, chanting the *Marseillaise* and *Des Girondins*, issued from their headquarters, and, fraternizing with the people, spread the revolutionary flames all over Paris.

A few minutes after M. Thiers had been admitted to the King's apartment, the names of the persons of the new Ministers were announced to those present in the palace, and measures taken to make the ministerial list publicly known.

Among the new Ministers, the most noticeable were M. Thiers himself, M. Odillon Barrot, and General Lamoriciere. The formation of this Cabinet, two days or even twenty-four hours earlier, would unquestionably have saved the throne of Louis Philippe, and satisfied the people. But the King's protracted obstinacy, the unfortunate accident at the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the discouragement of the troops, by keeping them so long in inactivity, and by contradictory orders and change of commanders, together with the increase of audacity and number of the adversaries of the Crown, had so much changed the situation of affairs, as to render the appointment of this Cabinet an altogether futile attempt to stem the revolutionary current.

About ten o'clock in the morning, a great multitude, partially armed, began to crowd round the troops stationed at the sides of the Louvre, upon *La Place de Palais Royale*, and *La Place de la Concorde*. The soldiers remained calm and immovable in the face of the violent clamors and even isolated attacks of the revolutionists. It was evident that they were ready to defend the King. Still, their countenances showed mental sorrow and bodily fatigue—being both averse to shed the blood of the people, and exhausted, by being kept on duty for more than forty-eight hours.

There was but a comparatively very small number of the National Guard present; and even those seemed rather inclined to give way to the pressure of the multitude, as they in fact later did, than to oppose any vigorous resistance. Still it was chiefly upon the fidelity and attachment of these civic soldiers Louis Philippe relied for safety, deeming their own interests as much interwoven with his own, as to render it imperative to do all in their power for sustaining his throne. But that wise prince was punished for closing his eyes to one of the most palpable lessons of history—that there lives no so unreliable and ungenerous a class of men as the *bourgeoisie.*

A body of furious insurgents took possession of the "Palais Royal," destroyed and plundered the furniture, the paintings, and the statues, lastly setting the edifice on fire, which was consumed in flames, together, as it is said, with some wounded *municipal* guardsmen, who were incapable to save themselves. The detachment of troops who kept guard at this palace was withdrawn without any resistance being offered to the infuriated populace.

All this took place at the distance of only a few steps from where great numbers of troops were stationed, and who, with astonishment, were obliged to remain passive lookers-on, while this work of wanton destruction and audacious violence was committed. But the officers were fettered by the orders of the King, who hoped to disarm his enemies by showing repugnance against shedding their blood, and who deemed himself safe in the Tuileries, guarded by a numerous body of troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

M. Odillon Barrot, surrounded by some popular leaders of the National Guard, was meanwhile hastening through the boulevards, in order to calm the people, and to restore order. But he found soon that the excited minds of the revolutionary elements were no more susceptible of listening to him, than the billows of the raging ocean. Finding his attempt futile, M. Barrot proceeded to take possession of the office which belonged to him as Minister of the Interior, that being the place which he held in the new Cabinet.

Marshal Bugeaud made also two ineffectual attempts to induce the people to desist from the insurrectionary movement in which it was engaged. Though no violence was offered to him, as had been apprehended by those who had vainly endeavored to persuade him not to show himself, but rather received with respect, and even with the cries of "*vive le vainqueur d'Isly,*" he could not turn the revolutionary multitude from their violent purposes.

Even General Lamoriciere, appointed Minister of War, and very popular, mounted his horse, and, riding about among the multitude, vainly endeavored to persuade the people that the King was ready to grant the desired reform, and thenceforth to pursue a more liberal policy, showing them the terrible misfortune they might produce by provoking an internal war. But the gallant warrior spoke to deaf ears, having, besides, the misfortune of being thrown by his horse, and wounded by the means of his own sabre.

Meanwhile, this happened on the *Place* of the *Carrousel:* a large body of insurgents, finding the boulevard and "la rue de la Madeleine" unoccupied by troops, proceeded to the entrance of the "Place de la Concorde," and fired the sentry-boxes and guard-houses on the sides of the "Champs Elysées," and murdering all the municipal guards that could be got hold of.

The piteous cries of these victims of the popular revenge, calling out for aid against their murderers, prompted the soldiers of the battalions stationed in the vicinity loudly to ask for permission to hasten to their rescue, and to attack the populace; but the officers, bound by the orders of the King, hesitated, and limited themselves to protect those municipal guards who, fleeing from their pursuers, came to seek for their protection. It is evident that in the face of so unjustifiable crimes, the troops ought to have been allowed to interfere; and that it was, in fact, to encourage the revolt, by permitting such deeds to be committed in the presence of the armed force.

It is evident that Louis Philippe as well as M. Thiers were mistaken in supposing that they would succeed in disarming the insurgents by not employing the troops against them. The time was past, when such a humane course might have produced the desired effect; but as the affairs then stood, nothing but the most energetic measures could save the Orleans family from their impending fate.

The old Queen, in whose veins flowed the blood of the proud Maria Theresa of Austria, seems to have been convinced that nothing but the display of great energy, on the part of the King, could save him the loss of the crown. She exhorted him to show himself to the troops and the National Guards, in order to confirm the fidelity of the former, and do away with the indecision of the latter, by awakening their zeal in his behalf.

The King, still infatuated with the hope of there being no actual danger, told her to remain calm, and to have confidence in his experience and wisdom, which had hitherto never deceived him.

Even as late as about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, he felt assured that he would be able to master the insurrectionary movement by a modification of the Cabinet, agreeably to the desire of the people. Entertaining this hope, he is said to have entered with a cheerful face the breakfast room, seating himself without the least sign of uneasiness at the table, surrounded by the most of his family present in Paris.

But only a few moments later, Messrs. Duvergier de Hauranne and De Rémusat entered precipitately in the room, requesting to be permitted to speak a few words with the Duke of Montpensier. The Prince rose immediately from his chair, and, making a sign to the King and the Queen to remain calm, hastened toward these gentlemen. But Louis Philippe and his spouse, unable to suppress their impatience, left also the table, directing their eyes inquisitively upon M. de Rémusat. He instantly said, "I consider it my duty to tell your Majesty the truth, inasmuch as remaining silent at this moment would make me an accomplice of what is taking place. Your very security proves that you are deceived relative to the actual state of affairs. Scarcely three hundred feet distant from your palace, the dragoons exchange their sabres and the soldiers their muskets with the people." "It is impossible," cried the King, aloud, starting backwards with astonishment. But one of the officers belonging to his staff said, respectfully, "I saw it."

At these words, all the members of the royal family, still sitting at the table, rose suddenly. The King hastened to his private apartment, and, dressing himself in military uniform, he speedily mounted his horse. The Dukes of Nemours and Montpensier and several Generals accompanied him. He rode slowly along the front lines of the troops, and the few battalions of the National Guard stationed upon "*la Place du Carrousel*" and in the court-yard of the Tuileries. He appeared, as it is said, depressed in mind, and his reception was not encouraging, especially from the side of the National Guard. A few cries of *Vive le Roi!*" mixed with a great many of *Vive le Reforme,*" went forth from the ranks. The Queen and the Princesses, not being able to distinguish the words, but only hearing these cries, regained their spirits.

But the King could not fail to perceive that he had ceased to be the idol of the National Guard, and that the soldiers viewed him with indifference. He re-entered the Tuileries much dejected and agitated, evidently undecided whether to assume the offensive, or continue to act a defensive part.

At this very moment, M. Thiers, who had meanwhile the opportunity of convincing himself that the time was past when he might have saved the King and the monarchy, came to inform Louis Philippe that he felt it his duty to return the power delegated to him, indicating M. Barrot as, in his opinion, the only person who might possibly yet be able to prevent the overthrow of the throne of 1830. But even M. Barrot had lost, as has already been shown, the popularity which this task would then have required. There was, besides, no more time left for negotiating with the people, who were already altogether under the control of the Republican party, and of the implacable enemies of the King.

By his long obstinacy to listen to the members of the Chambers opposed to the Guizot Ministry, and his own policy relative to foreign Powers, but friendly to his dynasty and to the monarchy, Louis Philippe had deprived them of the possibility of serving him at this hour of distress, and had, consequently, himself been the chief instrument in accomplishing the *fiat* of a Superior Power.

*Berlin, Prussia.*

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## PRETENDERS TO THE PRESIDENCY.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

There is at the present time an individual, an American, visiting the countries and capitals of Europe, who attracts to himself much consideration by virtue of his position and former relations to the Government of the United States. The pretensions of this person to have held the high and distinguished office of President of the United States, is, no doubt, a passport to his entrance into places and among parties inaccessible to a less distinguished personage. Majesty itself, it is said, is captivated with his excellent person, and his claim to have been President, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, unbars to him baronial castles and ancient halls, where only noble lords, genteel ladies, and mitred hierarchs, are permitted to enter. It will not be denied, however, that he has been the occupant of the White House at Washington, and has discharged the *powers* and *duties* of the office made vacant by the demise of General Taylor. All this is but a constitutional allotment of the *Vice President.* Let us look at and examine these pretensions.

Twice since the genesis of the Federal Government have the Executives thereof departed this life, leaving vacant the office of President of the United States. The framers of the Constitution, counting upon such contingencies, made provisions in the articles of the same, concerning the exercise and discharge of the powers and duties of that office for the remainder of the Presidential term. The whole proceeding and course of action, in such cases, was distinctly marked by them, and declared in that instrument. It had been deemed by them inconvenient and unadvisable to have a new election, for the purpose of filling the vacant office. They determined that the *office* of President should continue vacant, and that the powers and duties thereof should devolve on another State officer till "a President shall be elected"—an officer whose very being, as his name and style of office indicates, was constituted solely for such purpose. Not so, however, the *Chair* of the Presidency. It was to be filled, not by a new election or choice by ballot, nor by any outward or preliminary act of the people, or appointment of the Government, in a collective, aggregate, or corporate capacity, but by operation of law. No external acts were required, as qualifications for the occupancy of the vacant chair of State. Its seat is the inheritance of the *Vice President, as such;* his title to it is derived in the same silent, invisible, incorporeal manner that the heir-at-law derives title to the estate of his ancestor—its descent is like the dew on Hermon—noiseless in its nascent manifestation. There is no virtue in the administration of an oath to him, as a fit requisite to act. There is no necessity for a pompous public inauguration, and other ceremonious induction of the Vice President to that chair. To suffer such things to be done, or to submit to such silly inflictions, argues weakness, or vanity, or both. Nor is there in the Constitution itself a syllable or sentence to warrant a view different from this. Its language is explicit: "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President."—*Art. II, Sec. 6.*

The incumbent of the office of Vice President, who has taken the proper oath, as such officer, by simple constitutional investiture, is to be the Executive, losing nothing of his official name, character, style, or title, of Vice President. The *office* of President does not devolve on him—only the *powers* and *duties* of the office devolve on him. The connecting and relative words, "*the same,*" used in the passage above quoted, most manifestly warrant this view. The grammatical construction of the whole sentence demands this version. The absurdity of the contrary becomes plain, when it is seen that the provision as well applies to a vacancy made otherwise than by removal, death, or resignation, all of which effectually place outside of and beyond both the *office* and *chair* of office, the presence and person of the President. The other sort of vacancy, made by inability, clearly does not reach or affect the *office.* There is no vacancy of the office, nor can there be, while the *officer* lives, unimpeached, unresigned; which may be the case in the category of inability. How, then, can the Vice President step into the office itself of the President, yet alive, unremoved, never having resigned it, and himself a Vice President be, at once, made the President!

Take an illustration: Let the duly-elected President become insane, idiotic, or be overtaken by disease, in some of its manifold forms, to the extent of operating a disability or "inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office," is he, in such case, any the less the lawful and constitutional President of the United States? Is he any the less the incumbent of the office, because disabled? Because of his inability, for the reason above supposed, to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and because they are performed by the Vice President, is the disabled President less or other than the President, and the acting Vice President more or other than the Vice President? For what purpose, indeed, is the office of Vice President? Its very name is significant; and the use of the term VICE, *instead of*, would seem to leave no doubt of the object and intent of the office. It is true that the Constitution has not left idle the incumbent of the office of Vice President, but has assigned him a place and duties to perform in the Senate, during the actual administration of the duties of the office of President, by that highest officer of the Government.

The oath taken by the Vice President, on entering upon the duties of his office, extends in its obligations to every contingency growing out of its relations; one of which, well understood by him at the time he takes upon himself its solemnities, is to exercise and perform the duties of President, in place of, instead of, in room of, the President, when he has been removed, has died, has resigned, or, still remaining the incumbent of the office, through inability, cannot exercise and discharge them himself. It is safe to confidently assert that no popular debate, no teaching of the articles of the FEDERALIST, no history contemporaneous with the adoption of the Federal Constitution, will show that these possible events, in respect to the Presidency, were intended or expected to work a metamorphosis of the person of the Vice President into a President of the United States! Yet twice has it occurred in the lifetime of this Government, that individuals, chosen to fill the office of Vice President, and, *of course*, to perform the duties of President, if certain events happened, have had the vanity to think that what the people had neglected to do for them, had been done by kind Providence; that they were, not only by the grace, but by the act of God, transformed into veritable Presidents of the United States! Practical believers, moreover, in the philosophy and doctrines of the *Metempsychosis*, so beautifully taught by certain of the ancients, were these same individuals; for, feeling the transition thrills in their very inmost internals, they pompously summon within the walls and under the domes of the National Capitol the high officers of State, the Ambassadors of foreign Courts, &c., to witness the transfiguration of a Vice President into a President, by the solemn ceremony of the great High Priest of the Judiciary, in his robes of office, gravely uttering to the Vice President, with his right hand resting on the Holy Evangelists, these words: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United, States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States"—the Vice President soberly mouthing after him the precious jusjurand morsel peicemeal!

"And this man
Has now become a god."

Mockery—mock excellency—indeed! How

can this oath at all apply to the Vice President, under any circumstances whatever, so as to fit or qualify him to "*act as*" President, not to be President? The language of this oath itself, together with our remarks above made, make it clear that he gains nothing by its administration to him by the Chief Justice.

We have shown, we hope satisfactorily, that the vacancy cannot be filled; that the Constitution substitutes the Vice President, *as such*, to *act as* President; hence, when he is made to swear that he will execute the *office* of President, he has taken upon himself that which can be executed alone by a President, *as such*. The powers and duties of the officer, not the office, belong to him, or the language of the Constitution is without significance: "The Vice President, when he shall *exercise* the office of President"—(Art. 1, sec. 3, sub. 5.) "What officer shall then *act as* President." "Such officer shall *act* accordingly"—(Art. 2, sec. 6.) "Then the Vice President shall *act as* President"—(Art. 12, sec. 1, amend.)

Another aspect of the case: It was contemplated that, among possible events in connection with the Administration of the Government, both the office of President and Vice President might become vacant at the same time. In such case, it is provided that Congress may by law declare "what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until a President shall be elected." Now, is the officer designated by the act of Congress, in any manner or sense, *the President?* We answer, just as much so as the Vice President is, or can be; and the oath taken on induction to their respective chairs, by the Vice President, or the officer that has by law of Congress been named to act *as* President for the unexpired term of the Presidency, reaches in its obligations to all acts to be done by them in the ordinary transactions of their proper office, as well as those possible extraordinary ones superinduced and specially imposed upon them by constitutional allotment. If the powers and duties of the office of President intrude in certain other offices, contingently, to be sure, but no less inherent for that reason, then the oath of their proper ordinary office, already taken by them, is sufficient, and binds them, *quocunque et quodcunque*. What wisdom, then, is seen in the parading of inauguration and useless extra-constitutional oaths!

Again: Usage, or the universal custom in all parliamentary and ecclesiastical affairs and transactions, seems to warrant the view we have taken of this matter. In our city, in the absence of the Mayor, or by reason of his inability to attend to his duties, who does not know and see that another officer, provided for such a contingency, and acting in his stead, always signs himself, when called upon, in the discharge of the Mayor's duties, to use his name with the proper and truthful title, "Acting Mayor?" In the diocese of New York there is an ecclesiastical dignitary, still in office and receiving salary, the functions of whose bishopric he does not exercise, but another—an instance quite analogous to the political one under consideration—and that other, recognising his proper relations, uses the style of "Provisional Bishop;" though it is written, "his bishopric let another take," he will not take it, only discharge its duties, nor adopt a fashion of official signature, false in philosophy, false in principle, and false in fact, as it would be, if the term *Bishop* were used by him without limitation, while he is a person *qui vicem gerit*—a mere vicegerent.

The two instances cited above of Vice Presidents, whom constitutional intendment placed in the Presidential chair to *act as* President, not *to be* President, show, in some degree, the progress of assumption, arrogance, usurpation, in the offices of the Federal Government. For the exercise of *power*, they reach and overreach; and, not content with *place*, like well-trained and lithe athletes in political gymnastics, show themselves masters in leaping and overleaping all the limits and boundaries of the Constitution.

These are instances in the Executive department, and are only *nominally* dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people. It may be said to be of no importance, except to the individual whose vanity, or something else, has made him so great a dupe. Let him enjoy his fancied greatness; let him think himself President; let him write himself so, if he will; surely the worst is his own—to be laughed at in the sleeve, and set down as an illustrated edition of the old fable of the jackdaw in the plumage of the peacock, or player of the part of Harlequin in pasteboard crown, with mock majesty, in farcical antics, on the great theatre of the National Government. But it has been significantly said, and well put, "What's in a name?" The insidious workings and attacks of tyrants and usurpers are always covert, and, in appearance, trifling things, indifferent; the serpent, coiled and in his smallest compass, with the assumed color of the surroundings, and seeming to be what he is not, is more to be feared by the unsuspecting traveller.

> "He would be crowned:
> How that might change his nature, there's the question.
> It is the bright day that brings forth the adder;
> And that craves wary walking. Crown him? That;
> And then, I grant, we put a sting in him,
> That at his will he may do danger with."

We might instance, *ad infinitum*, the strides taken in the unlawful exercise of power in the Judiciary department, but we pass them now. The black catalogue of abuses and usurpations of the Legislative department is absolutely frightful. We will cite only two instances, beautiful specimens of this sort, chosen because of their brightness and lateness from the mint. They are—the Fugitive Slave Act, (one of the worthy Vice Presidents referred to above had a *hand* in its manufacture, and it bears his image and *subscription*,) and the act repealing the act known more generally as the *Missouri Compromise!*

The people well know that in theory the sovereignty lies in themselves. But, after all, as Government is administered by them, (to wit, through their representatives,) sovereignty changes place; and, like the beggar on horseback, the representative rides it, poor thing, to—all know where! In theory the people are masters—the officers of Government their servants; but in practice the reverse is the truth. The people have been invited to the great Festival of Freedom—to an entertainment greater than that prepared by Royalty for the Heir to the Crown, as the parable has it; and, *mirabile dictu!* they make excuse: one has married him a wife; another has much merchandise to look after; and another has bought him oxen. When, indeed, will the people awake to their highest interests—see that they have good Government—and not suffer tyrants, in guise of their representatives, to trample them in the dust.

HORACE DRESSER.

*New York, Sept.* 7, 1855.

### FROM KANSAS.

We have received the Kansas *Herald of Freedom* of September 22d. The *Herald* regards it as a wonderful occurrence, that Colonel Lane, of Indiana, a member of the last Congress who voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, applied for admission into the District Court of the United States for Kansas Territory, Judge Lecompte presiding, and was refused because he would not take an oath to sustain the enactments of the Legislature of Kansas. J. S. Emery, Esq., from Lawrence, found himself in a similar condition, and also refused the oath. Colonel Lane then asked the favor of appearing in behalf of McCrea, as a regular practitioner in the courts of Indiana and of the United States Supreme Court, but his request was disregarded.

The postmaster of Atchison (K. T.) returns five copies of the *Herald of Freedom*, and "most respectfully declines giving them circulation." The proprietor of the *Herald* has appealed to the Postmaster General.

A letter from Leavenworth of September 24th says that the District Court assembled at that place on the 17th, and Chief Justice Lecompte having empanelled a grand jury of sixteen, to whom was committed the McCrea case—the murder of Clark—the jury considered the case for five days, and, the majority being against finding a bill, the Judge dismissed the jury, and adjourned the court until November. The letter says:

"Such an adjournment is not legal; being authorized by no statute, and is in fact a dissolution of the Court. As such it was doubtless intended, in order to detain McCrea in prison until next spring.

"It is supposed that a band of lawless Missourians are concealed in the bush near the town, awaiting an opportunity to attack our citizens, and destroy the printing press of the *Territorial Register*. Three hundred well-armed citizens are prepared to receive them, and sentinels are posted in every part of the town, with signals for a general rally."

At the election for Territorial Delegate to Congress, Mr. Whitfield was the only candidate on the track, and of course got all the votes, with the exception of a few thrown for Reeder. Whitfield's vote in three counties was 1,100.

*Boston Journal.*

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# WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1855.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

To the circular we issued a week or two since, in regard to voluntary agents, we have already received a large number of replies, full of kind words and pledges of co-operation in the work of renewing the subscriptions of the *Era*. If there be any, at post offices which the circular has not reached, who are willing to aid us in enlarging our subscription, they will please, let us know without delay. Lists of subscribers and circulars will be forwarded week after next.

We are glad to see indications of an earnest purpose, among our friends, to multiply the readers of the *Era*, and repair the damages it sustained from the Know Nothing movement.

### REPUBLICAN MEETING AT ALBANY.

One of the signal events of the week is a great Republican meeting at Albany, presided over by the Mayor of the city, which was attended by General NYE and W. H. SEWARD, former political opponents, but now cordial co-workers in a common cause. In a speech of two hours' length, marked by characteristic breadth of view and elevation of sentiment, Mr. Seward announced his unreserved adhesion to the Republican Party. We shall print the speech in our next number.

### THE CASE OF PASSMORE WILLIAMSON.

The reader will see in another column a brief notice of Judge Kane's decision, against the petition of Jane Johnson to quash the writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Mr. Williamson. The Judge is unrelenting. He reaffirms every position that he has taken, and his opinions in relation to Slavery are such as few Southern Judges have ventured to pronounce. In the teeth of the express declarations of Mr. Madison, of Judge McLean, of eminent slaveholding jurists, of the whole current of judicial decisions, he asserts that the Federal Constitution recognises slaves as property, and that the law of nations guaranties to the slaveholder the right to carry his slaves through any Territory or State, whether Slavery exists there or not. The Judge is beyond argument. So far as his opinions can do it, he has abrogated the provisions in the Constitution of Pennsylvania prohibiting Slavery, and let loose the curse upon its soil. Towards the victim of his tyranny, Mr. Williamson, he is implacable. Public Opinion is beginning to cry out for his impeachment. It would seem as if no other means were left to the friends of justice. It is proposed that Congress be memorialized on the subject.

Meantime, Mr. Williamson suffers with noble fortitude. He will not confess to a wrong he has never committed: he will not purge himself of a contempt he never was guilty of: he will not sacrifice one jot or tittle of his rights and dignity as an American citizen. May Heaven protect and sustain him. His patience, dignity, and firm resolve, must excite more and more the admiration and sympathies of the People. Read the following letter from him to a friend, who had inquired as to the truth of certain rumors respecting new efforts for his liberation:

"No. 78, PHILADELPHIA CO. PRISON,
*September* 29, 1855.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 29th instant is now before me, and, in reply to your inquiry, I may say that I contemplate no further legal proceedings with reference to my liberation from this jail, in which I am now confined. I have now been kept here for more than two months, and I can see no prospect of liberation. I am a native, and have always been a citizen of Pennsylvania; and, believing myself atrociously wronged, I applied to the highest tribunal known to our laws, but relief has been withheld. I can expect none from the authority that placed me here, without dishonorable submission. Having been guilty neither of falsehood, dissimulation, nor contumacy, I am sure that it is no case for a degrading capitulation. Such a course would bring with it a diminution of self-respect more oppressive than the power now seeking to crush out the highest attribute of State sovereignty by immuring me within these walls.

"Accept for yourself, and communicate to others who favor me with their consideration, my most grateful acknowledgments.

"Respectfully yours, &c.,
"P. WILLIAMSON."

On the little slate that hangs by the door of his cell, containing a record of committals, is the name "Passmore Williamson, committed for contempt, July 27th, 1855." Immediately preceding his name is that of "—— ——, committed for *theft*," and following it, that of "—— ——, committed for *murder!*"

### "LABOR VOTES."

Labor in this country is honorable and honored. Its honor stands on the substantial basis of political power. Labor votes in the United States.—*Washington Sentinel.*

In what part of the country is Labor honorable and honored? In the slave States, where the labor is done by more than three millions of imbruted slaves? And is it in that section that "Labor votes?" Are the millions of slaves voters?

It is worthy of remark, that whenever Pro-Slavery men undertake to show off our country and its institutions to foreigners, they always ignore the South, and speak chiefly of the institutions prevalent in the free States, as if they constituted "the country"—a tacit admission of their superiority. Because Labor is "honorable" and "honored," and "votes" at the North, they say, "Labor *in this country* is honorable and honored"—and "Labor votes."

Suppose they should carry out their silly threat, dissolve the Union, and organize a pure Slaveholding Union, where, then, would be their boasting?

THE ALBANY ATLAS must not suppose it can sow disunion between the different sections that have united to form the Republican Party. The *New York Tribune*, we know, rejoiced as sincerely in the election of Mr. Chase as we do; and we certainly are as much gratified as the *Tribune* can be, at the accession of Mr. Seward to the Republican Party. The associations of the *Atlas* naturally make it difficult for its editors to conceive of a party in which personal strife and ambition do not bear sway.

### EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR THE ERA.

L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq., 27 New Broad street, London, England, has kindly consented to act as agent for the *National Era* in Great Britain and Europe.

### TO ADVERTISERS.

H. P. WHITNEY is our authorized canvassing agent for New York city and vicinity, and will receive and forward advertisements for the *Era* at our lowest rates.

Advertisements can be left at his office, No. 22 Spruce street.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.—*New York, Oct.* 15.—Commodore Perry is said to have predicted the failure of certain California merchants in their efforts to establish commercial relations with Japan. An examination of the treaty shows it to be one of amity and friendship only.

### OHIO ELECTION.

For two days last week the Administration organs had Mr. Medill elected, and, on the strength of it, indulged in some very pretty remarks on the downfall of Sectionalism, and the wholesome reaction of public sentiment. When it was ascertained that Mr. Medill was defeated, they took great comfort in the reflection that the vote of the opposition was not so strong as it had been the year before. As to details, they seem to be disgusted with them; in fact, there is not a newspaper in Washington which has presented the real results, so as to give its readers a correct idea of them. It is by such conduct that Southern People are misled as to the actual state of things in the free States.

The Cleveland (Ohio) *Leader* (Republican) thus announces the result:

"We have elected a Republican Governor.

"We have elected a Republican Lieutenant Governor.

"We have elected a Republican Auditor.

"We have elected a Republican Treasurer.

"We have elected a Republican Attorney General.

"We have elected two Republican Judges.

"We have elected a Republican Commissioner of Public Works.

"We have elected our whole State ticket by an average majority of more than forty thousand.

"We have rebuked the Pierce and Shannon Administration.

"We have taught the South that Ohio will not permit armed ruffians to invade Kansas, and plant Slavery with the bowie-knife.

"We have strengthened the cause of Freedom everywhere.

"We have achieved a victory of which our children's children will boast.

"Come and let us rejoice together; for our adversaries are humbled, and those who conspired against Liberty have been punished.

"Let all good men rejoice; for the hand that raised the sword against right has been cut off."

The Cincinnati *Gazette* of the 12th submits returns from seventy-four counties, showing a nett majority for Chase of 19,950. The counties to be heard from will increase this majority. Forty-three counties have chosen nineteen Republican and three Administration Senators; forty-eight counties have chosen fifty-four Republican Representatives and nineteen Administration. The counties to be heard from will probably show about the same proportions. The Legislature, of course, is overwhelmingly Republican, and will elect a Republican United States Senator. Trimble, an old Whig, set up by the Know Nothing organization to defeat Chase, received, it is estimated, about 20,000 votes.

It will be remembered that last week we expressed some apprehension in regard to the results of the election. As an Anti-Know Nothing, Mr. Chase was opposed by the Know Nothing organization, and yet, running on a ticket on which were the names of men who had been members of that Order, he was in danger of losing the support of the naturalized citizens. We rejoice that, although these circumstances reduced his majority, they could not prevent his election. It was demonstrated that the number of voters who preferred Know Nothingism to Republicanism was much smaller than had been supposed, and that a large portion of the naturalized citizens could not be mystified as to the real issue of the election.

The Administration Party tried to conceal this issue, and to run down the Republicans on the charge of Know Nothingism. Medill was represented as an Anti-Nebraska Democrat; letters were sent from Washington, announcing that the Cabinet was displeased with the conduct of Governor Shannon, and his removal was confidently predicted: a letter was circulated, purporting to be from that functionary himself, denying that he had ever said he was in favor of Slavery in Kansas; and the most strenuous efforts were made to invest State issues with paramount importance.

But all this trickery failed. The People could not be cheated. The questions were distinctly and broadly put to them—Do you ratify the election of Mr. Pugh, Nebraska Senator, in the place of Mr. Chase? Do you approve of the policy of the Nebraska bill, and the Pro-Slavery policy of the Administration? Will you approve of Mr. Chase, one of the great leaders of the opposition to that policy? Will you prefer Republicanism to Pierce Democracy? Will you pledge the vote of your State to the Republican candidate for President in 1856? Their answer is recorded in the election of Mr. Chase, the whole of the Republican ticket, and three-fourths of the Legislature.

As a political event, it is of the greatest importance. Ohio is the third State in the Union in political power. Its twenty-three electoral votes are now pledged against the Administration Party and the Know Nothings. This fact must give a powerful impulse to the Republican movement in Massachusetts and New York. What the great Western State has done, they may do. Surely the Anti-Slavery sentiment in those States is as vigorous and clear-sighted as in Ohio. Let Rockwell and his associates, Preston King and his associates, be elected, and to the twenty-three electoral votes of Ohio will be added the forty-eight of New York and Massachusetts, pledged to the Republican Presidential candidate of 1856.

While the political bearings of this important event claim our first attention, we exult in the signal triumph of an old co-laborer in the Anti-Slavery movement, who, unfaltering in his devotion to its interests, when such devotion involved political and social ostracism, has lived long enough to reap the reward of the consecration of eminent abilities to the cause of Freedom and Justice.

### FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES DANGEROUS.

The *Washington Sentinel* has a very good article against Know Nothingism, showing how the repeal of the naturalization laws would tend to place *Labor* in this country at the mercy of *Capital*. In making out its argument, it is constrained to refer to certain fundamental principles—rather dangerous to an advocate of Despotism—for, the *Sentinel*, while vindicating to-day the rights of Labor against Capital, to-morrow will be found fiercely maintaining the rights of Capital against Labor.

Forgetting for a moment that it is a stern champion of that Despotism of Capital, which owns both Labor and the Laborer, it states the following principle:

"Human nature is the same in all countries, and in every epoch. It is the same in the United States as in England. *Take from Labor here the right to vote, and we may be assured that Capital will be enabled to secure, and will secure, its advantage, at the expense of Labor. Like causes must produce like effects. Deprive Labor of the right to vote in the United States, and you put in operation the causes which degrade Labor in England, and puts it completely at the mercy of Capital.*"

Stick to this principle, Mr. *Sentinel*, and you must abandon Slavery, for that system not only denies to the Laborer the right to vote, but the right to act in any way, except in absolute obedience to Capital. You may say, as you have often said, that the self-interest of the Capitalists in this case will provide for the welfare of Labor; but, as a sufficient answer, we refer you to another principle, stated by yourself in the same article.

"The psalmist says—'Put not your trust in princes, or in any child of man, for there is no help in them.' These words of truth are acted upon in our system of government. It is related of Madame de Stael, that with fulsome flattery she thus addressed the Czar of Russia: 'Sire, *you* are a constitution for your country, and *your character* is its guaranty.' To which the monarch well and wittily replied—'Then the constitution of my country is but a fortunate accident.'"

* * * * * *

"For our part, we will not be satisfied with the idea or opinion 'that American capitalists will not be so selfish as thus to ruin their countrymen.' *For our part, we want some more substantial basis for the security of the interests of the large and intelligent body of American workmen and mechanics than the* CHARACTER *of any man, or set of men.* In Russia, the *Czar* (*the man*) is the constitution, and his *character* its guaranty. In America, we insist on some more substantial security for our rights and interests, than human perfection or individual character."

The conclusion of the whole argument is, Labor, where not invested with the right of self-protection, will be oppressed by Capital, no matter what the *character* of the capitalist may be. This is the position of the *Sentinel*, as against the Know Nothings: but against Anti-Slavery men, its position is, the best condition of Labor is that in which it has no legal right whatsoever, but in which its only protection is to be found in the *character* of the capitalist!

### ELECTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND INDIANA.

The opposition to the Administration Party in Pennsylvania has been defeated, that Party having elected its candidate for Canal Commissioner, and a majority of the Legislature, on which will devolve the task of choosing a United States Senator. Last year the Opposition swept the State. The press is engaged in philosophizing on the change. The Administration papers of course say that Public Opinion has reacted in favor of the Administration—that the policy of the Nebraska Bill having come to be better understood, the People have revoked an erroneous judgment, hastily formed. This is nonsense. No Democratic State Convention, held in Pennsylvania since the passage of the bill, has dared to endorse it, although vehemently urged by the Administration to do so. The Convention that nominated Plummer for the office of Canal Commissioner, maintained the same reserve, refusing to make the bill or the policy of it an issue in the election. Besides, it will be found that the Administration Party has increased but little since last year: it has not grown stronger, but the opposition organized against it last year has grown weaker.

The *North American* attempts to explain this fact by a reference to the division of sentiment in relation to the Prohibitory Law. We doubt not that this, as in Maine, had something to do in changing the relative conditions of parties. But, the one great cause of the disorganization of the opposition is overlooked. Last year, Know Nothingism, acting secretly and insidiously, combined all the elements of disaffection to the Administration, especially allying itself with the Anti-Nebraska Sentiment, which it used, however, to subserve its own purposes. Its nature and real tendencies were not understood, and it operated without making itself manifest except in results.

Since then, it has emerged from obscurity, been arraigned at the bar of Public Sentiment, and condemned by the great majority of the real Anti-Nebraska voters. Unwilling to submit to the judgment, it has struggled for political ascendency. Where it gave place to Republicanism, and became acquiescent, the Administration has been overthrown, as in Vermont and Ohio. Where it refused to be ignored, as in Maine, or undertook the lead, as in Pennsylvania and Indiana, the Administration has triumphed. *The opposition to the Administration and Slavery can be marshalled and organized by Republicanism, but not by Know Nothingism. True Anti-Slavery men, determined to wrest the Federal Government from the hands of the Slave Power, will not array themselves on the narrow platform of the proscriptive, Anti-American Order.*

That is the secret of the Administration victory in Pennsylvania and Indiana. The Know Nothings attempted first to get the control of the Republican Convention in Pennsylvania. It now turns out that the President was a Know Nothing, and appointed a majority of the State Republican Committee from the Know Nothing ranks. A portion of this Committee, acting, as we understand, without any authority, at the eleventh hour, withdrew the name of Passmore Williamson, candidate of the Republicans, and, in conjunction with the Whig and Know Nothing Committees, put in nomination a new candidate. This change of front of itself would have tended to division, but, accompanied with so many suspicious circumstances, it insured it. Many of the Republican papers denounced the movement as fraudulent, and kept the name of Williamson before the People; and the result was, entire want of concert among the opponents of the Administration.

We are not sorry for the result. We can see no good from any election that may be justly claimed as a Native American victory. Better let division come this fall than next. Better encounter now all the hazards of disentangling Anti-Slavery men from the meshes of the Secret Order now, than a year hence. If Pennsylvania is to be arrayed against the Administration and the Slave Power in 1856, it must be, not by Whiggery or Know Nothingism, but by Republicanism.

The same is true of Indiana.

The *Indianapolis Journal* of the 10th instant admits the total defeat of the "Republicans" at the late county elections in that State, but denies that the election was decided upon national issues. Speaking of the result, it says:

"We are beaten so decidedly that we have the satisfaction of knowing that the misfortune cannot be the result of remissness in one place or uncorrected falsehoods in another. So great a change from the vote of last year cannot be traced to partial or local causes. It is the work of a general sentiment, and that, we think, *is hostility to the prohibitory law.* Not that the principle of prohibition is so unpopular, but the stringent features of the law, and its indifferent execution since it got into the hands of the Supreme Court, have burdened it with all the odium of stringency and the additional odium of inefficiency. Other causes may have aided, but this, we believe, was the main influence. We need not say that we regret this indication of popular feeling, but we derive consolation from the history of all great reforms. Truth has many defeats to suffer, before a final and permanent triumph. Let no temperance man despair or cease his efforts to destroy the accursed traffic. Though beaten now, we have gained vastly on our position of two years ago.

"National issues exerted so slight an influence as hardly to have affected the result at all, though of course our opponents will glorify the result as an Administration victory. When the question comes fairly and squarely before the people in the Presidential campaign, 'will you support the advocates of the Nebraska fraud and the apologists of Kansas villanies?' a different result will be manifested. So great a change on a question presenting the same old features of fraud and contempt for the popular will is incredible. People do not twist short round so easily, although politicians do. Their sentiments upon that question are unchanged, and, when allowed expression, unhampered by local issues, the truth of our declaration will be seen."

Here, as in Pennsylvania, the Prohibitory Liquor Law is made the scapegoat; but, the truth is, a true Republican Party does not exist in Indiana. Why disguise the fact? Was not the State Convention held a few months since, claiming to be "Republican," attended by delegations with banners bearing the usual Know Nothing catch-words, "America for Americans," "Down with the Pope!" &c., indicating anything but a genuine Anti-Slavery spirit? Many, perhaps a majority of naturalized citizens in Indiana, voted the Anti-Nebraska ticket last year. This year, we presume, *they voted in vindication of their own rights.*

The *Journal* itself has been as much a Know Nothing as an Anti-Slavery paper, and has assiduously kept Know Nothing issues prominent. And yet it lays the blame of the defeat of the "Republicans" to the *Prohibitory Law!* We beg it to reconsider its position: we entreat the so-called Republicans of Indiana to reconsider theirs. They cannot stand upon the issues of Native Americanism against the Administration. They cannot mix them up with the great Question which now demands a union of the People against the Slave Power, without separating themselves from the other free States, and insuring their certain overthrow.

One movement—one issue—an honest, open Party of the People, without proscription or distinction on account of race or religion—this is the demand of the crisis. Will our Indiana friends respond to it heartily and sincerely?

### THE DEFENCE OF THE PRESIDENT

A defence of the President, in the Kansas matter, probably dictated by himself, appeared lately in the columns of the Washington *Union*.

"Having made," says the writer, "the Kansas bill a measure of his Administration, and having contributed what influence he could to its passage, it would have been strange if he had failed to watch with deep solicitude every development connected with the successful inauguration of a measure which was designed to establish, firmly and forever, the principle of territorial self-government, and, consequently, to give the country repose on the Slavery question. It was not only his interest, but his duty, to observe the 'prevalent feeling' in the Southern States respecting the efforts of incorporated companies in the free States to control the public sentiment of Kansas by the influence of money and capital, as well as to observe the 'prevalent feeling' in the Northern States respecting the outrages on the Kansas border. He saw, as every impartial man must have seen, that as soon as the Kansas bill became a law, the purpose was avowed by Abolitionists to defeat its great principle by securing the hasty immigration into the Territory, through the influence of capital, of an Anti-Slavery population.

"The Kansas law was based upon the principle of allowing the *bona fide* settlers—those who came of their own accord—to find homes and to pursue their avocations as permanent inhabitants, and with no preconceived purpose to affect the political complexion of the Territory—to allow such inhabitants to adopt or reject Slavery, as they might decide. The spirit and object of the law were liable to be perverted and defeated in two ways: the one by the mode of hurrying in Anti-Slavery settlers, as charged upon the Abolitionists; the other by the mode of attending the elections and controlling the ballot-box by force, as charged upon the Missourians. The former mode was as much calculated to excite and exasperate the South as the latter was the North. We have no doubt that the President has witnessed with deep regret the excited feelings which have been manifested in both sections in connection with the occurrences in Kansas.

"It is much to be lamented that the men in both sections who give direction to public sentiment have not been more careful in looking at the different aspects in which Kansas affairs present themselves. The editor of the *Advertiser* is kind enough to volunteer his counsel to the President, and yet he does not seem to have qualified himself as a counsellor by examining both sides of the subject. Governor Reeder fell into the same error when he returned to Pennsylvania, shortly after the elections in Kansas. In his speech to his neighbors at Easton he denounced with bitterness the violence and force of the Missourians, but he wholly overlooked the conduct of the Massachusetts Abolitionists, on which the Missourians based their plea of justification. In the late Democratic Convention at Syracuse, the same error was committed—the outrages charged upon the Missourians were strongly censured, but the interference of the Abolitionists which had provoked those outrages was entirely passed over.

"Being actuated by no sectional feeling in this matter, and being bound by his official obligation to know no North or South, but to carry out the law in its true spirit and meaning, the President has not overlooked the embarrassing circumstances which are connected with the Kansas question, but, on the contrary, has been ready at all times to exert all the power vested in him for the prevention of any of those interferences, whether by the influence of capital and money or by force and violence, which are alleged to have been resorted to for the defeat of the true meaning and principle of the law. The *Advertiser* will, therefore, see that there is not the slightest danger that the President will give 'the Executive sanction to the illegal proceedings of Atchison and his coadjutors in Kansas,' and thereby give an impulse to the Republican movement which would render it irresistible in the free States. He has not, and he will not, lend any countenance to any illegal proceeding, whether it originates in Missouri or Massachusetts, which has for its object the defeat of the great principle of allowing the inhabitants of Kansas to give an unbiased and free judgment upon the question whether Slavery shall or shall not exist in the Territory."

Let us bring to view a few historical facts, overlooked in this Defence.

The Missouri Compromise was recognised as in full force during the agitation of the Slavery Question in Congress in 1850. The arrangement then agreed upon in relation to Territorial Government, was expressly confined to the Territories of Utah and New Mexico. Nobody intimated then, or at the Baltimore Conventions of the Democratic and Whig Parties, which sanctioned that arrangement, that it disturbed or in any way affected the Missouri Compromise. At the last session of the thirty-second Congress, a bill to organize a Territorial Government for Nebraska, defining its southern boundary by the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude, was introduced in the House, was opposed by some Southern and a few Northern members, on the ostensible ground that the rights of the Indians were not respected, but was passed by an overwhelming majority. The Slavery Question was not named in connection with it. It went to the Senate, was brought up at a late period of the session, resisted by several Southern Senators, and lost for want of time. Had there been plenty of time, it could have been carried against the feebly-organized opposition.

Little was said about it during the interval, except by the *National Era*, which exposed the secret influences that had defeated the measure, and admonished the friends of Freedom that a conspiracy would be organized by the opening of the next Congress, to baffle it, if again introduced.

Some time before the meeting of the first session of the thirty-third Congress, Senator Atchison traversed various slaveholding counties in the State of Missouri, pointing out to them the dangers which threatened "slave property" from the organization of Nebraska as a free Territory, and doing all he could to enlist their prejudices against that policy. He, for himself, declared that he would never consent to the organization of a Territorial Government, unless his constituents were permitted to emigrate to the Territory *with their slaves*—in other words, till the Missouri Compromise should be abrogated. The project of repeal, and the division of the Territory into two parts, with a view to throw Kansas directly under the influence of Missouri, and subject it to slave colonization, was broached in an obscure Atchison paper, in Western Missouri, before it was brought forward in Congress. The bill, as first introduced by Senator Douglas, provided only for one Territorial Government, and did not propose to repeal the Missouri Compromise, but to leave the question of its validity to the Courts. This bill was sustained by the Washington *Union*, on that express ground, and, as the country had a right to believe, by the Administration. But, it did not suit Mr. Atchison and the Propaganda. Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, a Whig, who has since joined the Pierce Democracy, moved an amendment, (directly repealing the Missouri Compromise,) which was opposed by the Washington *Union*. But, the Propaganda were now organized. They wanted the portion of Nebraska bordering on Missouri, for slave-colonization, and they determined to have it. Accordingly, Senator Douglas brought in a substitute, providing for the erection of two Territories, Kansas and Nebraska—the boundaries of the former being so defined, as to make it as much as possible, geographically, a continuation of Missouri, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise being expressly enacted—the very measure announced in advance by that obscure Missouri paper! To this measure, the President, as the country knows, and his Defence avows, gave his support, adopting it as a measure of his Administration—in fact, as *the* measure, adhesion to which was thenceforth made a test of party allegiance.

Now, he knew perfectly well, from the course of the Propaganda, and from the bold declarations of Mr. Atchison and his Missouri organs, that the one great object of the bill was, to wrest from Freedom a Territory which had been consecrated to it by a solemn compact for one-third of a century, and to subject it to Slavery. He knew, too, that no State Legislature, no Convention of the People, no leading Press, North or South, had demanded such a measure. He knew that a simple, legitimate bill, for the organization of a Territorial Government, without the slightest reference to the subject of Slavery, such as had passed the preceding House with little opposition, and would have gone through the Senate, had there been time, would have succeeded in the thirty-third Congress, had he yielded to it his countenance and support.

In rejecting, then, such a measure, and adopting that of Mr. Atchison, with a full knowledge of its purpose and inevitable working, *he adopted the policy of Slavery-Propagandism.* This, and not the principle of Popular Sovereignty, was the controlling element of the bill.

In his Defence he finds it convenient to pass in silence over this chapter of his responsibilities, as an ally of the Slavery Propaganda. The Territories might have been organized without repealing the Missouri Compromise: he knows it; and, had they been, our country would have been spared the disgrace of those Vandal outrages which now afflict our frontiers, and threaten civil war. Why, then, did he repeal the Compromise? Why, but to give the Propaganda the privilege they had desired, of planting Slavery in Kansas. And yet this man pretends to be impartial and national, a partisan neither of the Anti-Slavery nor Pro-Slavery party, neither of Missouri nor Massachusetts! The bill itself was a *sectional* measure, carried by a *sectional* majority, for *sectional* purposes. Its object was, to take Kansas from Freedom, give it to Slavery, and to aggrandize the Slave Interest. The President who sanctioned it, and makes it *the* measure of his Administration, insults common sense when he claims to be national, opposed equally to the sectional fanaticism of North and South. That such a Defence as we print above, should emanate from such a source, is not surprising.

Compelled by Public Sentiment to take some notice of the outrages upon the rights of voters in Kansas, afraid to condemn them as they deserve, and yet unable to justify them, the President undertakes to find an apology for them, in certain alleged proceedings of the Abolititionists. So soon, he says, as the Kansas bill became a law, "the purpose was avowed by the Abolitionists to defeat its great principle, by securing the hasty immigration into the Territory, through the influence of capital, of an Anti-Slavery population." This is false, notoriously false. The indignation produced by the passage of the bill was not confined to the *Abolitionists:* the majority of the People interested in settling Kansas with a free population, were not "*Abolitionists,*" in the popular acceptation of the word. Again: the persons specially engaged in encouraging free immigration into the Territory did not "avow their purpose to defeat the principle of the bill;" nor did they cherish such a purpose. They avowed their purpose to defeat the *object* of the bill—Slave-colonization—by acting upon its *principle*—the right of the *bona fide* settlers to determine its domestic institutions.

Now, admit what is not the fact, that Eastern men, organized in societies, paid a premium for Anti-Slavery emigrants, and transported them free of cost to Kansas, for the purpose of becoming actual settlers, what law did they violate, what right of slaveholders, what part of the Kansas bill? Might not similar societies have been organized in the South, for for slave colonization? Slaveholders were at liberty to contest the ground by precisely those means. The struggle would have been legitimate and peaceful. How could the operation of such Eastern societies, carried on in the way pointed out, justify the invasion of Kansas by Missourians, not intending to settle there, but for the purpose of taking possession of the polls, and preventing the *bona fide* settlers from recording at the ballot-box their will? In other words, could the "hasty colonization" of Anti-Slavery people, through the means of "capital," with a view to permanent settlement, justify the armed interposition and fraudulent voting of Missourians, retaining their residence in Missouri, and with no purpose of changing it?

But, it is not true that the Emigration societies of the East offered a premium to Anti-Slavery colonists, or transported them free of cost. A plain statement of the case will expose the gross misrepresentation and want of candor of this Presidential Defence. The Kansas bill, as we have said, was framed to suit Mr. Atchison and the Propaganda, who had avowed their purpose to plant Slavery in the Territory. No sooner was it passed, than his friends were instructed how and where to locate their claims, and measures were concocted to obtain by means of temporary voters the control of the polls. Conventions were held through all the western counties of Missouri, for the purpose of raising money to make the scheme effectual. The Pro-Slavery Party had many advantages. Missouri bordered on Kansas, and shut it off from the free States. The western counties contained a large slave population. The plans of the Propaganda had been matured. They had, in the Secretary of War, who could dispose of the troops on the frontier, a powerful friend at headquarters, and in Senator Atchison at Washington, an agent who would give them the earliest and most important information. Under ordinary circumstances, ordinary emigration from the free States might have saved Kansas; but these extraordinary advantages of the Propaganda required to be met by extraordinary efforts on the part of their opponents. And will any candid man say, that in view of the outrageous violation of good faith towards the free States involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, such efforts were not only their right, but their duty? The Emigration societies were organized, not to supersede, but to aid, voluntary emigration. They carefully collected and circulated information in relation to the Territory, and the best routes for reaching it. They hired nobody to go; but, by making economical arrangements with railroad and steamboat companies, reduced the price of freight and passage to the individual emigrant. One of them purchased a town site, erected machinery, and in this way invited immigration. No armed colonists were marched into the Territory, to seize the polls, decide the election, and then march away again. The whole object of the associations was, to secure a rapid settlement of free laborers and farmers in Kansas, *bona fide* settlers, so that, taking their stand on "the principle of the bill," they might baffle the Propaganda, who cared nothing about its principle.

The societies, after all, operated to a limited extent, the larger amount of emigration from the free States being of individuals, going "in of their own accord."

These proceedings, the President, in his Defence, classes with the armed interference by Missourians with the rights of settlers, and the fraudulent voting of Missouri residents; and he has the hardihood to insinuate that they are "illegal," for he says, "he has not, and he will not, lend any countenance to any illegal proceeding, whether it originate in Missouri or Massachusetts, which has for its object the defeat of the great principle of allowing the inhabitants of Kansas to give an unbiased and free judgment upon the question whether Slavery shall or shall not exist in the Territory."

That partisan newspapers, whose vocation it is to make the worse appear the better reason, and confound all distinctions of right and wrong, should attempt to excuse an enormous Injustice, by libelling its victims, is to be expected; but such conduct in a President of the United States is beyond the reach of all ordinary terms of reprobation.

The only other part of the Defence in which the President attempts to justify himself, is that in which he labors to show how unjust are the complaints against him, for not interfering to prevent the fraud and violence alleged to have been committed in Kansas:

"We have seen the remark made again and again by partisan opponents of the President, that he is responsible for the violations of the right of suffrage in Kansas; that he ought to have prevented it; and that he ought still to interfere for the punishment of the offenders; but we have seen no attempt to specify the manner in which the President could have interfered to prevent the evils, nor in which he could now interfere, nor upon what clause in the law or the Constitution he could find authority to interfere. We know that under the Constitution the President is commander of the army, but we know, too, that he is not thereby empowered to empoly the army for any other than a purpose specified by law. The *Advertiser* deals in the language generally used by the fault-finders on this subject, but upon examination it will be seen to be entirely too vague and general to point out the course which the President is advised to pursue. We venture to affirm that he stands ready and anxious to exert the full power vested in him by the Constitution and law, to secure to the people of Kansas the free and unrestricted right to carry out the Kansas law in its true spirit. We doubt not he would be obliged to some of the astute fault-finders, to point him to the authority under which he can do more than he has long since done. It is idle to tell him that he 'must discard all sympathy with Atchison and his crew'—he never had any sympathy with anybody who sought or desired, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the free right of suffrage by the Kansas people. It is useless to call on him to 'sustain the people of Kansas in the exercise of the rights guarantied to them,' without showing in what way he can 'sustain' them more effectually than heretofore. He has exhausted all the authority known to him in the effort to have the law for organizing Kansas faithfully executed."

Let us see whether he is so impotent, as he pretends to be. When the Fugitive Slave Act was said to be obstructed in its operation, did not the President issue a Proclamation, warning evil-disposed persons, calling upon good citizens to maintain the law, and denouncing penalties against law-breakers? Did he not put the army and navy of the United States in motion to enforce its execution? Were not despatches sent to the Marshal and Prosecuting Attorney, to use prompt and vigorous efforts against offenders? Why all this exertion of Federal Power? Because, the law, said to be resisted, was a Federal Statute, and by the Constitution the President is bound to "*take care that the laws be faithfully executed.*" What is the Kansas-Nebraska Act but a Federal law, and, when resisted, when its plain provisions are attempted to be counteracted by an organized conspiracy, how is it that the President is not bound to "take care that it be faithfully executed?" Why may he instruct Marshals and Attorneys, issue Proclamations, put the army and navy in motion, when one Federal law is seriously obstructed, and have no power to interfere, when another is still more seriously obstructed?

The truth is, he not only failed to use his power to support the law, but flagrantly used it to support the law-breakers? He knew that Senator Atchison was the head of the conspiracy to convert Kansas into Slave Territory—that Messrs. Whitfield and Stringfellow were his chief associates—that the *Squatter Sovereign* and *Weston Argus*, open partisans of Nullification, libellers of the free States, advocates of mob-violence and the invasion of Kansas, were their special organs. Will he explain, then, to the country, why he ejected Mr. Benton's friends from office, in Missouri, and appointed instead the creatures of Mr. Atchison, thereby giving the latter the ascendency? Why he reappointed Mr. Whitfield, Indian Agent? Why he gave the Government printing to the *Argus* and the *Squatter Sovereign?* Will he tell us, why he appointed a majority of the Judges of the Territory from that class of slaveholders who deny that Slavery is local in its character, and assert that it is recognised and protected by the Federal Constitution in all Federal Territory, thus deciding, in advance, the question of Slavery for Kansas, so far as the Courts could determine it? Will he tell us, why he appointed, in the place of Governor Reeder, Wilson Shannon, a man whose first act was a cordial recognition of the spurious Legislature of Missouri, elected by Atchison men, and one of whose first declarations was, that "he was in favor of Slavery in Kansas?"

Ah—the record of the President is a black one: not only has he refused to use his power in behalf of the actual settlers in Kansas, he has used it against them; not only has he declined to see that the laws be faithfully executed, he has aided and abetted the men who deliberately violated them. His Defence is disingenuous in statement, sophistical in argument, libellous on the free States, an insult to common sense.

### MOST CONSOLATORY.

The *National Intelligencer* administers rich consolation to the good people of Massachusetts in the following paragraph. They will never be able to repay Messrs. Walley, Winthrop, and Choate, for their incalculable services.

From the National Intelligencer.

"The newspapers of the South, which have been laboring for some time to get up acts of retaliation by the Southern Legislatures against Massachusetts, on account of what is called the 'Personal Liberty Bill,' will, we think, soon be saved further trouble. The discreet and sound men of Massachusetts seem determined to have the corrective applied in the proper way. The 'madness which ruled the hour' is likely to pass away, and the councils of the State will soon be in the hands of rational and patriotic men, warmly attached to the Union of the States, and animated by those fraternal feelings which in the revolutionary era bound North and South in a common brotherhood."

It is true that the project of Retaliation against some Northern State or other, has been discussed in the South at any time during the last fifteen years, just like that of a dissolution of the Union, but to the "national and patriotic" respectabilities above named belongs the distinguished honor of meeting it as an imminent danger!

### A MISCHIEVOUS MISREPRESENTATION.

From the following article in the Washington *Union*, it will be seen how grossly that paper misrepresents the London *Times*, for the purpose of excusing its pro-Russian sympathies, and stirring up an anti-English excitement.

Semi-Official.—From the Union.

*Mr. Mason at Notre Dame.*—We are not disposed to credit the statement, which we see in some of the newspapers, that Mr. Mason, our worthy and accomplished Minister to France, was in attendance in his representative capacity at the late *Te Deum* at Notre Dame, in Paris, in honor of the fall of Sebastopol. As the representative of a neutral Power, it seems to us impossible that Mr. Mason could have overlooked the impropriety of such an act so far as to compromit his Government by his attendance in his representative capacity. It is hardly to be supposed that he will allow the allusions to the occurrence in the public prints to pass without explanation, and therefore we shall assume either that the statement of his attendance is unfounded, or that he has a plausible explanation for whatever course he deemed it proper to pursue. It would be a coincidence much to be regretted, if it should turn out that whilst Mr. Mason was giving additional *eclat* to the celebration of the fall of Sebastopol in Paris, the editor of the London *Times* should be inditing sentiments and suggestions like the following:

"A few years ago, the Americans seized a province of their weak neighbors; *an alliance of France and England was projected, which, if carried out, would have involved the Union in a long and dangerous struggle.* The Russians occupied a similarly situated territory; the alliance was complete, is most powerful, *and may last to interfere in the affairs of a transatlantic Turkey.*"

Our Government has maintained a strict neutrality in regard to the Eastern war, but our people cannot overlook such threats as those made by Lord Clarendon and the Emperor Napoleon, and now repeated by the London *Times;* and they cannot fail to give a decided direction to American sympathies. We repeat, that we shall regret exceedingly if Mr. Mason shall have forgotten the relations of strict neutrality to which his Government is committed in the manner indicated in the newspapers; but, until more correctly advised, we look with confidence to a satisfactory explanation of the occurrence.

Now, as we showed last week, the extract quoted from the London *Times* is taken from a paragraph in that paper, in which the sympathy for Russia in this country is attributed to certain "fanciful analogies" between Russia and the United States; and among these are, the alliance which is said to have been projected when the question of Texas annexation was under consideration, and the existing alliance, which, it is conjectured, "may last long enough to interfere in the affairs of a transatlantic Turkey." The *Union* attributes these "sentiments and suggestions" to the London *Times*, when, in fact, the *Times* ascribes them to American statesmen, and finds in them an explanation of the dislike to the Allied Powers, cherished by Americans. So far from that paper entertaining or sanctioning them, it says expressly that they are "*fanciful*," "*obviously too imaginary* to be the cause of more than pamphlets and orations."

The New York *Times*, in which this misrepresentation first appeared, has retracted it promptly, thus showing that it arose from misunderstanding. We shall see whether the *Union* will manifest a like respect for truth and fair dealing.

We are not particularly interested for the reputation of the London *Times*, but we do not like to see bad feeling engendered between nations by careless or wicked misrepresentation. The press could employ its columns to better purpose than in misleading the People of this country in regard to the real sentiments of foreign nations.

### NATIONAL WHIGS.

The *Richmond* (Va.) *Whig* is no less pleased than the *Richmond Enquirer* with the movements of the National Straight-out Whigs in Massachusetts and New York. Quoting in full the resolutions of the late Convention in the former State, it says:

"The doctrines here announced are the doctrines of national, Union-loving men, and cannot fail to command the approval of such all over the country. 'The Whig party of Massachusetts stands now, as ever, upon the Constitution.' The declaration of such a sentient is surely worthy of those who profess to follow the teachings of Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the Constitution, and the ardent friend of the Union, under all circumstances and amid every peril that menaced it. * * *

"The denunciation, by the Conservative Whigs of the Old Bay State, of the odious Personal Liberty law, as 'an enactment disgraceful to a body of men sworn to support the Constitution,' and the declaration of their determination to use all their efforts to have it 'erased' from the statute-book, evidence a patriotism and firmness of purpose worthy of the best days of the Republic. In short, it is no small merit in men anywhere in these times to stem the torrent of fanaticism, and proclaim themselves, in the face of all manner of adverse surroundings, the friends and guardians of the Constitution and laws. But especially is such conduct to be commended in Massachusetts men, who are beset by so many temptations to desert principle, and ally themselves with *ism* and with faction."

It also publishes the address and resolutions of the Straight-outs of New York State, and says:

"They will be read by Southern men with deep interest and pleasure, as affording a happy indication of a returning sense of reason and justice on the part of our Northern brethren. Like the Conservative Whigs of Massachusetts, the Conservative Whigs of the Empire State heartily respond to, endorse, and adopt, the inspiring sentiment of the eloquent Choate: '*We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union.*' Even our neighbor of the *Enquirer* is forced to compliment the patriotism and the manly firmness of these Northern Whigs. 'It is encouraging,' it says, 'to see the attempts of our honest opponents, *discarding all the odious isms of the day, to put down sectional and geographical parties.*'

The following resolution of the New York Whigs, which, in its wicked mis-statement of the issue between Anti-Slavery and Pro Slavery men, virtually gives utterance to an unmitigated falsehood, finds special favor with the *Richmond Whig:*

"*Resolved*, That the sacrifice of the interests of twenty-five millions of white men, and silence upon all the principles that concern them, to the supposed interests of some three and a half millions of negroes, is an abandonment of our own race and color, to aggrandize into greater importance the race and color of the African. The Whig party was made for the American, and not for the African."

Now, what paper is this which thus compliments the Straight-out Whigs of Massachusetts and New York? It fiercely urged the passage of the Nebraska Bill, commended the sham Democratic Administration that procured its passage, praised Senator Douglas who brought it forward, denounced the Whig Senators and Representatives from the North who opposed it, sneered contemptuously and arrogantly at the opposition raised by the Northern Whig press, assumed that the conduct of the Whigs of the free States had broken up the National Whig Party, and that Southern Whigs could no longer act with them, and was violent in its menaces of a dissolution of the Union, should a Northern majority succeed in restoring the Missouri Compromise. From the time of the passage of the bill, it has been busy in calumniating the North, and cultivating Southern chivalry. When the Know Nothing party was organized in Virginia, in company with the great mass of Virginia Whigs, it gave it the full benefit of its support, and is now one of its zealous supporters, as the following extract from an editorial in its issue of October 9th will show:

"On Friday, then, the 19th of October, the American Convention of Virginia will assemble at Lynchburg. Let it be fully attended; let the ablest and discreetest men of the party go up there, and frankly commune with each other as to the best means of furthering its interests, and thereby promoting the welfare of our State and country. The times are out of joint; the future is full of peril to our institutions and our liberties; and it behooves good men and patriots, of all parties and all sections, to band together for their preservation. From the action of this Lynchburg Convention, if wise and prudent counsel shall prevail, we anticipate a vast amount of good. We again, therefore, urge the people to see to it that they are represented in that body by able and competent men. But few, we apprehend, who really have the welfare of the country and the American party heart, but will readily put themselves to a little inconvenience to promote it, by attending the Convention."

How refreshing must be the approbation of this Know Nothing paper to the National Straight-out *Whigs* of Massachusetts and New York, so pure that Fusion excites their loathing! Are they aware that *there is no Whig Party in the South*—that it has gone over in a body to the Know Nothing Party—so that the Straight-out Whigs, as they are called, can have no Southern allies, unless they make up their minds to *fuse* with Know Nothings. This is precisely what they will do, if they persist in their present course. They, the unadulterated, the immaculate Whigs, with their horror of Fusion, must either remain a geographical party, or follow the lead of the Richmond *Whig*, Judge Berrien, and their Know Nothing organization.

## REPUBLICAN RATIFICATION MEETINGS IN NEW YORK AND BOSTON.

A Great Republican Ratification Meeting was held in the Tabernacle, New York, on the evening of the 9th. Even the correspondent of the *National Intelligencer* says, "it must be confessed that the gathering was quite imposing in point of numbers." The *Tribune* says, "it was one of the largest, and certainly the most spirited and enthusiastic, which has been held in our city this season by any party. For three full hours the close attention of the large auditory was given to the terse and logical statements of Mr. Sherwood, the stirring eloquence of Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, and the freedom-breathing energy, the resistless humor, of General Nye. Judge Culver charged lucidly at the close, but very properly declined to speak at length, because of the lateness of the hour. Grave and substantial as the assemblage mainly was, it was frequently moved to the deepest enthusiasm."

Letters were read from several candidates on the Republican ticket, from Charles Sumner, and Benjamin F. Butler.

Mr. Butler writes:

"The failure of the Convention, representing the Democratic constituency to which I have heretofore belonged, to denounce in terms of deserved condemnation and rebuke the Kansas-Nebraska iniquity and its authors, and to insist on just and full measures of constitutional redress, makes my support of the candidates nominated by the Convention utterly incompatible with my conviction and sense of duty. And as I find in the platform adopted by the two Conventions of the 26th and 27th of September, along with the principles of Democratic liberty and individual freedom, of toleration, justice, and economy, in which I was bred, and which I have always endeavored to maintain frank, full, and decided utterances on the great public questions of the day—a question which I deem paramount to all others—I gladly accept, for the coming election, this truly Jeffersonian platform, and shall give to the candidates nominated in connection with it my hearty support.

"I am happy to recognise among these candidates several with whom I have long been connected by political ties. Most of all do I rejoice to see among them two, who may fitly be regarded as of living men the truest representatives, in the present crisis, of the incomparable Silas Wright and the pure-minded Michael Hoffman. The whole ticket will, I trust, be elected, and elected by a vote which shall be to the friends of Human Freedom, in every quarter of the country, the prophecy and the pledge of a more perfect triumph in 1856."

Judge Culver, in his brief remarks, took up the question of Fusion:

"This was the great bugbear they encountered. On the right and on the left they had the ghost of Know Nothingism, and the fossil remains of the old Whig party. The Judge spoke of the various eminent men in the Union who had practiced Fusion, and supported it on public grounds. Even Washington Hunt, who was now fanning himself in the parlor, keeping the flies away in the heated terms, practiced Fusion. It was Fusion brought him up, and he was now the man Friday of Marcy, and wore the handsomest ruffle shirt of any man in the Congress at Washington. The Know Nothings—the men with their dark lanterns—the old Whig body, the Hard Democrats, and the Slippery Grays, all condemned Fusion. Four-fifths of the Whig candidates, that were making noise, and rattling their tin kettles, and crying down Fusion, were inmates of Know Nothing lodges, and were telling them to beware of Fusion. John Van Buren, John Cochrane, and ex-Governor Seymour, were fusing to support the President, not for principle, but for spoils; and they were also fusing to support Slavery and uphold a great wrong. If the Pope had sent in his followers to Kansas, to commit the outrages which had been perpetrated, they would have then been asked by their opponents to fuse, and prevent the shedding of Protestant blood. The heart of the people of the State was sound, and they would eventually triumph. It was a good omen that, on the day of their Fusion at Syracuse, the telegraph brought them the intelligence of the success of the Allied armies at Sebastopol. [Applause.]"

On the evening of the 8th, Faneuil Hall, Boston, was crowded with an assemblage, called to ratify the proceedings of the Republican State Convention. All present seemed full of energy and hope. Among the speakers were T. D. Eliot and J. Z. Goodrich, Whig members of the last Congress, but now hearty supporters of the Republican movement. A letter was read from the venerable Josiah Quincy, sanctioning and sustaining the movement. The Hon. Franklin Dexter, in a letter to the meeting, while declining to take part in it, from an unwillingness to withdraw himself finally from what he regards as the Whig Party, avows his determination to support the Republican candidate for the Governorship. He says:

"Among the reasons which prevent my becoming a member of the Republican party at this time, it is sufficient for me to state that I am unwilling to withdraw myself finally from the Whig party, with which I have acted so long, on account of any apparent present differences of opinion, which may perhaps be only apparent, and, if real, may be only temporary. The approaching election will determine what, I think, is now very uncertain, whether the late Whig Convention at Worcester was a true exponent of the views of the party at large.

"In the mean time, it seems to me to be my duty, as one holding the opinions respecting the extension of Slavery which have been so long and loudly expressed by the Whigs on former occasions, to act independently, and to give my hearty support to Mr. Rockwell, as the only candidate entertaining those opinions who can possibly be chosen. If we should fail to elect him, a great calamity will fall upon the Commonwealth, in the election of either Mr. Beach or Mr. Gardner."

The Yellow Fever in Virginia.—*Baltimore, Oct.* 11.—The yellow fever has nearly disappeared from Norfolk and Portsmouth.

The Rev. Francis Devlin, pastor of the Roman Catholic church, Portsmouth, is dead.

## REPUBLICATION OF NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER.

William Ogden Niles, of Washington City, has issued proposals for republishing the first fifty volumes of *Niles' Weekly Register*, embracing the period from September, 1811, to September, 1836. The character of the *Register*, as an invaluable record of the most important events in the history of the country, is too well known to need remark. It was always referred to as an authority. We present the plan of Mr. Niles:

"The subscription price of the volume, embracing the period of twenty-five years, (from September, 1811, to September, 1836,) with the six supplements and the General Index, which is a separate volume, was, *in sheets*, $134, viz: $2.50 per volume for the *Register* proper, $1 for each of the supplements, and $3 for the Index; or, if *bound*, $172.25. The supplements are to volumes 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, and 16, and form a very material portion of the work, comprising, as they do, valuable historical papers, and one of them the entire debate upon *Foot's Resolution*. The General Index embraces the first twelve volumes, in which are contained the '*Events of the War of* 1812,' and is very full and complete. With the view, therefore, to the general distribution of the work, and thus bringing it into familiar use where it is only known by reputation, I propose to reprint the said fifty volumes, the cost of which was, as stated, bound, $172.25, at a cost of $79.50, also bound. That is, I will furnish to subscribers to the entire series the forty-four volumes, without supplements, at $1.50 per volume, bound, and the six volumes with supplements, at $2 per volume, bound, and the General Index, at $1.50, bound. The old octavo form will be preserved; the paper shall be equal to that on which the Congressional printing is executed, the type new, and the binding firm, neat, and durable, and in the style of the *Congressional Globe*. For odd volumes, or volumes required to complete sets of the work, of which it is believed a large number will be ordered, the price will be, for those without supplements, $2 per volume, bound, or $1.50 in sheets; for those with supplements, $2.50 per volume, bound, or $2 in sheets. At least two volumes will be published every month, and in cities and towns where there are five subscribers, they will be delivered free of cost; but no volumes will be delivered unless paid for at the time of delivery. The volumes ordered by mail must be paid for before transmission; but they will be transmitted at the risk of the publisher."

## FROM KANSAS.

Leavenworth City, K. T.,
*September* 25, 1855.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

The case of McCrea has been disposed of for the present, in an unexpected manner. I will briefly state the course of Judge Lecompte in the case. He excluded from the bar gentlemen whom the prisoner had employed as his counsel, because they declined to swear to support the laws of the Territory, which were not yet published, and they had not seen. He also refused to allow the prisoner, by his counsel, to challenge the grand jurors. Sixteen or seventeen grand jurors were empannelled, and received the charge of the Judge; then, at another time, two or three other jurors were introduced, making the whole number nineteen. After having the case in hand for two or three days, without finding a bill, the jury came into court to obtain instructions on some points of the law from the Judge. They were instructed that twelve must agree in finding a bill. The foreman of the jury announced that the jury stood, three for manslaughter, five for willful murder, and eleven for finding no bill. The Judge reproved him for making this statement, and sent the jury back to their room. On their return, they summoned other witnesses, and continued their session for two days longer, without being able to indict him. The time then arrived for closing the present session of the court. Instead of discharging the jury, after their protracted labors, the Judge adjourned the court and jury till the middle of October. McCrea is thus left in prison and in chains, after a jury, selected by pro-slavery officers, had failed, after a week's trial, to find an indictment against him. Under such circumstances, ought he not to have been discharged? And is not his continued imprisonment an act of pro-slavery and judicial tyranny?

The Convention at Topeka, called by the Free State men, to take measures for a State organization, was well attended, and an excellent spirit of harmony prevailed. The National Democrats go into the measure heartily. A Platte county slaveholder, now a resident of the Territory, was a delegate to the Convention. An Arkansas man, who said he was the owner of fifty slaves, gave in his adhesion. A Virginia slaveholder, at a previous meeting, had adopted the Free State platform. I am informed that other pro-slavery men are coming over to the Free State side. It is proper to say that a large body in the Free State party is intensely anti-abolition, being opposed to Slavery merely from considerations of political economy, and not because of its unrighteousness. The Convention called a Constitutional Convention, and fixed the qualifications of voters and of delegates. A voter must have resided in the Territory thirty days, and a delegate six months. The election is to be held on the second Tuesday of October, the day appointed by the previous Free State Convention for the election of delegate to Congress. The Convention is to meet at Topeka, the latter part of October. It is expected that it will be engaged three or four weeks in the work of framing a Constitution. This will doubtless be forthwith submitted to the people for ratification, and at the beginning of the next session of Congress Kansas will ask for admission to the Union.

The unsettled and disturbed condition of affairs here is in part the reason for urging this matter so rapidly. But I apprehend the questions of National party politics are in no small manner involved. It is believed that the interest of the Democratic party can only be subserved by the immediate settlement of the Kansas question. The prospect is, that it will ruin the party if it is left open. The Nebraska Democrats, who so suddenly have allied themselves with the Free State men in this movement, manifestly expect the co-operation of their party abroad. It is confidently maintained, by old politicians, that Kansas will be early received into the Union. If this should be the result, a new era in American politics would be inaugurated. The Democratic party will cease to be the conservator of Slavery, but, by the necessities of its existence, it will be driven to interpose an impassable barrier against the future aggressions of Slavery.

It will be wonderful if Providence should employ one of the corrupt parties of the country to set the metes and bounds of oppression. If Kansas now comes in free, it is doubtless true that no future slave State can be admitted; and such a success, it may be hoped, will be a decisive victory over the Slave Power.

Yours, truly, John H. Byrd.

## AFFAIRS IN KANSAS—THE INVASION REPEATED.

Leavenworth City, Kansas,
*October* 2, 1855.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

In a late letter, I informed you that arrangements had been made in Missouri for the exportation of a large number of voters, at the election in this Territory for Delegate to Congress. I did not fully believe that the Pro-Slavery party were sufficiently insane to repeat such an invasion. It is however true, that hundreds crossed the river yesterday to vote here. Four hundred came into the little town of Delaware, and, from what I learn, I suppose like numbers came into the other small border towns. If these men had not come, scarcely a corporal's guard would have voted yesterday in many of the precincts. They not only voted, but had money to pay the poll-tax of the Pro-Slavery men in the Territory. I asked one of my neighbors of that party if he voted; he replied affirmatively, but said he should not have done so, except that his Platte county friends paid the dollar for him. I presume this was generally true. Such barbarian invaders are no longer terrific. They are simply contemptible. Let none be deterred from coming hither to settle, from any fear on this account. The great body of the citizens of the Territory did not regard the day as a legally authorized election day. The course of the Missourians and their Legislature has completely disgusted many of the Pro-Slavery party in the Territory, and, at the election in Delaware, the Missourians had the whole ground—there were almost no Kansas citizens there.

Yours, truly, John H. Byrd.

## FROM MAINE.

An intelligent correspondent writes:

The result of the recent election in this State, in the temporary defeat of the Republican party, was, no doubt, unexpected to many at a distance, who were not aware of all the opposing influences, of a local and personal nature, which were brought to bear with effective force against a full and free expression of public sentiment, on the Pro-Slavery machinations of the Pierce Administration. Yet, with a multitude of adverse circumstances, and the most labored and unscrupulous efforts of the retainers of that Administration, to contend with, we have come out of the contest with a popular vote increased by thousands since last year, and a unity of purpose and knowledge of *real* strength, that makes us more encouraged by the result of this election, than by the success of last year; for, although we do not stand as strong comparatively as in 1854, yet we lead the Administration candidate some 3,000, and fall less than 10,000 behind the combined vote of both Hunker parties; and this, too, when last year we had the support of the Know Nothing element, which brought to our vote some thousands whose sympathies were not with us, and who, as was to be anticipated, have gone to their associations, zealous to atone for last year's apostacy.

' Philadelphia, *Oct.* 13, 1855.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

Dear Sir: The election is now over in this State, as well as in Ohio. The friends of Freedom and equal rights have gained a signal victory in Ohio, while in this State they are beaten fearfully. The papers of this city are at a great loss to find out the true cause. They are either misled or dishonest. Had the opponents of the Administration done in this State as they did in Ohio, the effects would have been the same. But, as you know, the friends of Freedom were not organized until very lately, and at last, for the sake of defeating the slave Democracy, they gave up their candidate for Canal Commissioner—a very bad move, as Passmore Williamson would have led all others except the Democrat, and this fact alone would have done a great deal to kill the Know Nothings, and secure a victory for the Republican party next year.

The Know Nothings nominated, and they ruled the election—driving off our foreign Protestant population, which numbers in this city alone some five thousand, and in the State not much short of fifty thousand. Again, thousands of Whigs would not vote, and gave it as their reason, that they despised the Secret Order as much as they did the Democrats. Last of all, the friends of Freedom had no great love for the Know Nothings, and many thousands staid at home.

I think I have given the true reasons of our defeat. I hope that the Republicans will soon rally for the victory in 1856, as it is manifest this State is to be the battle ground between Freedom and Slavery. Yours, respectfully,

George Orr.

N. B. In my communication with your paper last winter, I was understood to favor Know Nothings; now, I would just remark that there was nothing further from my purpose. I despise everything about secret associations, of all kinds, and for every purpose. G. O.

## "HATRED OF ENGLAND," AND ITS EFFECT UPON OUR DOMESTIC POLITICS.

SECOND LETTER.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

Let me tell the Free-Soilers, Whigs, and Fusionists, that they will yet have to face this question of "Hatred to England," before they are victorious at home.

The Democratic party has *two* main principles left—Slavery extension at home, and hate of England abroad. You combat its domestic error, but you let it have all its own way in foreign affairs. Outside of Massachusetts, or at least New England, no attempt has yet been made to combat its foreign error; on the contrary, in the Middle and Northwestern States, the Democratic politicians and presses are allowed to proselytize the people to the creed of "Hatred of England," unmolested and unanswered by their adversaries.

Take the last eighteen months, for example. From one end of the country to the other, Anglophoby has "stirred the great heart of the nation." The Hunker presses have showered down upon the British every species of insult, misrepresentation, and evil wishes. Have they been met step by step on this ground by the Fusion presses? No. But it may be said in their behalf, "the Fusion presses have abstained, and held themselves aloof from this mania." Granted; but, alas! this is not sufficient. The poison is emitted, and you will be obliged to administer the antidote before you win.

Look at the prospects of the great struggle of 1856, for which you are all preparing with so much ardor. You will be beaten, to a certainty. It is admitted that California will go against you; and I tell you, you have no chance of winning Pennsylvania. So, your labor will be lost. I assume that you will win Illinois, although that is doubtful. When, in the hour of defeat, you come to analyze the elements of the Hunker vote in California and Pennsylvania, will you not find the anti-English element lying at the bottom of them both? Are not these the two most rabid anti-English States of the North? I have seen nobody yet venture to touch upon this hidden rock, which threatens to sink you in 1856. When this catastrophe takes place, let thinking Free-Soilers remember my explanation of the cause.

See how S. A. Douglas is playing this anti-English article of the Democratic creed in Illinois. He is going about, charging that your great sectional party of the North is the result of *British gold* plied among you; and ignorant people will give credit to it, for they have always had Great Britain painted to them as a monster of tyranny, fraud, and malice. See how Mr. Wise hurls it forth. Your great sectional party is called "a combination between New England and Old England to ruin the Union." You Fusionists, have you set Great Britain in its true light before the masses, so as to disarm S. A. Douglas of the only weapon he has left to him? Never, outside New England. Well, the retributive effect will fall upon you in 1856. You will not be able to shirk this difficulty much longer; you will be compelled by stern facts to recognise it. It is not sufficient to combat John Mitchelism at home; before the game is over, you will have to combat John Mitchelism in its external aspects. Take courage, then, *take courage*.

I respectfully suggest these ideas to the leading minds of the Fusionist cause. They have dawned upon me slowly; awakened first by a study of your past revolutionary history, they have been confirmed by what I have beheld for the last eighteen months. For my own part, I do not believe that the people who can cultivate rancorous national hates in this year of grace 1855, are either morally or intellectually ripe for a great movement or stroke for Freedom. That the people of New England are ripe, as well as those of Ohio and Wisconsin, I can see; but the people of the Middle States and several of the Northwestern are not so far advanced. I have heard much spoken against "the English" of late, and very few words spoken in their favor, yet permit me to make this observation. The British people have proved themselves equal (together with their chief ally) to the task of saving Eastern Europe from an extension of Russian serfdom; now let the people of the United States prove *themselves* equal to the task of preserving Kansas and the great Northwest from an extension of American Slavery. If the British succeed in their enterprise, and you do not in yours, of what weight will be your eternal self-assumptions against "the English?" Truly yours,

A Plymouth Nonconformist.

The "New Steamboat Law" works well on the Western rivers, as is seen in the great diminution of the number of fatal disasters. The inspectors at New Orleans report that, during the year ending September 1st, the number of boats subject to their inspection have carried six hundred thousand passengers; yet there has not been an explosion of a boiler or collapse of a flue, nor have any lives been lost on passenger boats from the effects of steam or collision. The report at Cincinnati is almost, if not quite, as favorable.

Georgia Election, &c.—*Baltimore, Oct.* 9. The returns from 93 counties in Georgia give Johnson, (Dem.,) for Governor, majorities footing up 13,756; and Andrews, (American,) 5,237. The election of Crawford secures six Democratic members of Congress.

The contract for the materials for the extension of the Treasury building has been awarded to Beales & Dixon, of Maine.

## THE CASE OF COLONEL WHEELER'S SLAVES.

DECISION OF JUDGE KANE.

*Philadelphia, October* 12.—Judge Kane delivered an opinion this morning, adversely to the reception of the petition of Jane Johnson to quash the writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Passmore Williamson, pronouncing her to have no status in Court, being entirely without its jurisdiction.

The opinion is very elaborate, reviewing the whole case, and re-affirming his former opinion. He asserted that the law of nations guarantied the right of transit of slaves, and of every other species of property, through territory where Slavery was not recognised.

If the contrary principle was sanctioned, the time might come when the cotton of Louisiana, the rice of Carolina, and the rum of New England, would be restricted from transportation, without the bonds of the State producing them.

He maintained that the Federal Constitution recognised slaves as property, and up to 1830 Slavery existed in the thirteen original States. He said that Williamson's duty then, as now, was to produce Jane Johnson's children.

Were the petitioner here to abide the action of the Court, she would have a right to be heard; but being without the jurisdiction, the records of the Court cannot be open for a stranger.

On the conclusion of the delivery of this opinion, John Cadwallader, (a member of the bar, but not engaged in this case,) in order to remove a false impression from the public mind, said, from his recollection of the circumstances attending the commitment of Passmore Williamson, a proposition was made to amend the return to the writ, when Judge Kane replied:

"I will not receive an amendment now, but will be prepared to receive it when the record has been completed."

No such motion was subsequently made, and the public impression that permission to amend was refused was not warranted by facts.

Judge Kane replied, that his (Mr. Cadwallader's) impression was correct. He had been prepared to receive a supplementary return from Mr. Williamson's counsel, but none had been offered.

Mr. Cadwallader suggested that an addition be made to the opinion of the Court, embracing the remarks of a member of the bar not engaged in the case, and the reply of the Judge. He was induced to make the suggestion by the best feeling towards a worthy but mistaken man, hoping it might lead to the adoption of such a course as would end in his liberation.

Mr. Cadwallader is to embody the remarks he made, when the Judge will follow with his answer, so as to complete the record.

John M. Read, counsel for the petitioner, said he had listened with attention to the opinion, but it had failed to convince him that the petitioner and her children were not free the moment they touched the soil of Pennsylvania.

## NEW PLAN FOR A PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The "*American Railroad Journal*" publishes a communication from A. P. Robinson, a railroad engineer, to Hon. J. M. Wood, member of Congress from Maine, proposing an entirely original plan for the construction of the great Atlantic and Pacific railway. By this plan he hopes to accomplish the following results, viz:

"The easy attainment of a speed of one hundred miles per hour; increased safety, even almost to the extent of absolute immunity from accidents arising from unseen imperfections in the track or the breaking of axles; and increased accommodations and conveniences, even to the extent of sleeping, eating, and sitting rooms, with all the comforts had upon our steamers."

The plan is briefly this; He proposes to lay four parallel rails of the ordinary pattern and weight, forming two distinct tracks, each of a gauge of 2½ to 3 feet, and having an intermediate space of five to six feet. He would lay these tracks upon distinct and separate sleepers, having a ditch or trench between them, but so connected as to preserve a uniform gauge. The car body would rest upon four tracks, and be sustained by a single bearing at the centre of each. With this arrangement the cars would be constructed of a width of twenty feet, and carry at least double load, which would be divided between the four rails. The locomotives would be constructed double, with two distinct sets of driving wheels and two cylinders on each side, leaving room between for a boiler of five feet in diameter. The axles of the driving wheels not extending across the space occupied by the boiler, it matters not how large the drivers are. These are the prominent features of the proposed plan, models of which are now on exhibition in New York. It will be seen that any failure of a single rail or an axle could not prevent the running of the train or throw it off the track, as it would run on three tracks. The plan is a novel one, and worthy of consideration.

## CENSUS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Springfield *Republican* publishes nearly full returns of the population of the five western counties of the State of Massachusetts, as taken this year, compared with the census five years ago. The tables embrace the returns of this year's census from 143 cities and towns, being a little less than half of the whole number, and from about three-fifths of the whole population. The nett gain in these cities and towns from 1850 is 95,152. The total population of the whole State in 1850 was 994,514. The gain thus far is at the rate of about seventeen per cent., the places given having in 1850 about 600,000 inhabitants. These returns include the cities where the gain has been the largest; and they also include the western part of the State, where the gain has perhaps been the smallest. It is supposed eleven hundred and twenty-five thousand will be as high as the population of the State will now reach.

New York State shows a gain from three millions in 1850 to about three millions and a quarter in 1855, which is but eight per cent., much less than the ratio of increase in Massachusetts.

We give below the population of the cities and some of the larger towns in Massachusetts, as shown by the State census in 1855:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boston | 162,229 | Newburyport | 13,380 |
| Lowell | 37,553 | Dorchester | 8,363 |
| Worcester | 22,285 | Nantucket | 8,064 |
| Charlestown | 21,742 | Haverhill | 7,932 |
| Salem | 20,934 | Milford | 7,488 |
| Cambridge | 20,473 | Marblehead | 6,932 |
| New Bedford | 20,391 | Newton | 6,768 |
| Chelsea | 13,150 | Quincy | 6,500 |
| Roxbury | 18,699 | Fitchburg | 6,442 |
| Lawrence | 16,114 | Randolph | 5,529 |
| Lynn | 15,713 | N. Bridgewater | 5,508 |
| Springfield | 13,780 | Woburn | 5,450 |
| Taunton | 13,756 | Hingham | 4,256 |

Interesting from California.—*New York, Oct.* 13.—The Northern Light, with California dates of the 20th, arrived this evening, bringing $460,000 in specie.

Colonel Kinney has resigned the Governorship of San Juan. Another meeting had been called, and the English Consul had assured Colonel Kinney that his Government would recognise him if re-elected.

The Uncle Sam arrived in San Francisco on the 14th, having lost 106 passengers by the cholera on her passage up, and others had died at the hospital after arriving there.

The Northern Light brings accounts of the California elections. The Know Nothings swept the State, and Johnson's majority for Governor over Bigler was 4,000. The Know Nothings have a majority of thirty in the Legislature.

Indian murders and depredations continue to be committed on a large scale. One case is reported in the San Francisco papers, in which seventeen miners were murdered.

The schooner Foster has returned from her voyage to Japan, with the intelligence that she was refused permission to trade, the Japanese authorities denying that the treaty made provision for more than a temporary residence at Hakadadi.

The Lost Cable.—*New York, Oct.* 14.—We learn that the company in which the Newfoundland submarine cable was insured have admitted their liability for its loss, and paid over to the telegraph company the $40,000 for which it was insured. It is not yet known what will be done in reference to the cable, but it is the impression the Insurance Company will sell their claim to it pretty low, in which event the telegraph company will purchase and endeavor to recover it.

Santa Anna in Washington.—*Washington, Oct.* 9.—There is little or no doubt that Santa Anna has been in this city for several days, privately quartered at the residence of General Almonte, the Mexican Minister.

## COLONIZATION OF KANSAS FROM THE SOUTH.

A new scheme is started, for making a slave State of Kansas. In a Georgia print, with a long name, the *Southwestern Corner Stone*, it is announced that "an Old Line Whig, and a member of the American party," has proposed to be one of a thousand persons, each of whom is to contribute a hundred dollars towards forming a fund, which is to be used in sending men and slaves from the South to Kansas. Five subscribers to this fund have already been obtained.

Mr. Allen Eiland, of Crawford, in Alabama, has written a letter to General James N. Bethune, in which he proposes that Southern emigration societies be established in every town in the Southern States, with a view of sending forward slaveholders to Kansas and to purchase lands in that Territory, which are only to be resold to slaveholders. He proposes to go himself to Kansas, if he can meet with suitable encouragement, and thinks he can by the first of February bring into the Territory twenty-five voters who are to be depended upon. The Augusta *Constitutionalist* seconds the scheme in the following manner:

"Now that the excitement of the recent election is in a manner over, we invite the attention of the people of Georgia to a practicable movement for securing Kansas as a slave State. It is nothing more or less than a counteracting movement to the 'Emigrant Aid Societies' of Boston, and other Free-Soil communities of the North, organized to send Free-Soilers and Abolitionists into Kansas, to put down Slavery. The movement is to raise funds at the South, for the purpose of equipping and sending to Kansas sound and reliable Southern emigrants and slaves, with a view to sustain their Southern influence, and give to the South their preponderating influence.

"What say you, wealthy and patriotic men of Georgia? Will not each of you contribute, from your abundance, one hundred dollars each, to achieve this great political good for the South? If so, send your names to the editors of the Columbus *Corner Stone*."—*N. Y. Eve. Post.*

Outrages in Kansas.—The election in Kansas on the 1st instant, in which the Free State men refused to participate, was characterized by some outrageous proceedings at Leavenworth. According to a letter, Mr. James Furnam, a respectable citizen, was requested to vote, which he declined to do. A mob of Missourians, it is alleged, then gathered around him, and threatened to lynch him. The letter then adds:

"One of the mob then seized hold of him. Mr. Furnam, being a quick, powerful man, turned round and knocked his assailant down, and fled. They gave chase, but could not overtake him. One of the desperadoes shot at him with a rifle. The ball pierced his hat, but did not hurt him, and, striking a house, went through the clapboards, and killed a child which was playing on the floor. The mother ran out, shrieking "murder!" "help!" The neighbors came to her assistance. The news spread. The Free State men armed themselves.

"In the mean time, another citizen had been insulted in the street, knocked down, and stabbed. This was young Thomas Newman. He died this morning. The marauders began now to be alarmed at their own acts. About a hundred Free State men, well armed, formed in a body, and marched towards the hotel, but the Missourians had decamped."

Arrival of Dr. Kane and his Party.—*New York, Oct.* 11.—The propeller Arctic and the barque Release have arrived here, having on board Dr. Kane and his party.

These vessels made their way north in Smith's Sound up to latitude 79° 30', when they were stopped by the ice. While working their way in toward shore, they discovered an Indian village, at which they learned that Dr. Kane and his party had gone south. They then returned to Disco Island, where they found the objects of their search.

Dr. Kane pushed his vessel (the Rescue) as far north as 81°, where she was frozen in. He remained by her all winter, sending to the Indian village for provisions. In the spring, he abandoned the ship, and made his way southward in sledges to Upperavik, from whence he was conveyed in a Danish vessel to Disco Island, and was there found by the expedition of Lieutenant Hartstene.

Three of Dr. Kane's party have died, viz: Christopher Ohelsen, carpenter; Peter Schubert, cook; and Jefferson Baker, seaman. The remainder were more or less frost bitten.

On the 4th of September, the barque Rescue narrowly escaped shipwreck by coming in contact with an iceberg, which stove in her bulwarks and carried away her boats.

The last winter was unusually severe in the Arctic regions, and many of the natives perished from exposure and starvation.

No traces whatever were discovered of Sir John Franklin's party.

Later from Mexico.—*New Orleans, Oct.* 12.—The steamship Orizaba has arrived at this port, with dates from the city of Mexico to the 5th instant.

General Alvarez had been elected President by the College at Cuernavaca, but the military power will deny him entrance into the Capital, and hard fighting is anticipated.

Vega had withdrawn from civil power, having refused to obey the orders of Alvarez to arrest the fugitive ministers of Santa Anna, and arm the national guard. His predecessor in office had again assumed his duties.

The rumors that were current, to the effect that the American Minister had furnished money and arms to Alvarez, and signed a protectorate, have been denied by both General Alvarez and Mr. Gadsden.

The Ohio Election.—*Cincinnati, Oct.* 12. The *Gazette* of this morning has returns from seventy-four counties, which give Chase a net majority of 19,950 for Governor. The remaining counties will increase this figure. In forty-three counties, the returns show the election of nineteen Republicans or Free-Soilers, and three Democratic Senators. The returns from forty-eight counties show the election of 54 Republican Representatives, and 19 Democrats.

Southern Mails Behind.—*Boston, Oct.* 14. The New Orleans, Mobile, and mails from between the latter point and Charleston, failed to reach this city on Wednesday last, in season to be forwarded by the America. This makes two steamers, in succession, that have left this port without the great Southern mails.

The Vermont Legislature.—*Montpelier, Vt., Oct.* 12, 1855.—Lieut. Governor Fletcher received the oath of office to-day, and took his seat as President of the Senate. C. H. Chapman, of Ludlow, was chosen Secretary.

Mr. Powers, of Woodstock, has introduced into the House a bill in amendment of the present liquor law, which is said to be the most stringent yet framed. Doubts are expressed about its passage.

Later from Mexico—The New Government.—*New Orleans, Oct.* 15.—The latest advices from the city of Mexico are to the 8th. The garrison had sworn allegiance to Alvarez as President. General Vega's appointment as Commandant General had been revoked, and General Conde appointed in his place. Alvarez had formed his Ministry as follows: Ocampo, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Comenfort, Minister of War; Juarez, Minister of the Interior and Justice; and Prieto, Minister of Finance.

British Violation of our Neutrality Laws—An Apology Demanded.—*Washington, Oct.* 14.—At the commencement of the recruiting of troops for the British army in this country, Mr. Crampton, the English Minister, received intimation from the Government that he and certain Consuls were violating our neutrality laws. This fact aggravated the case, and our Government will now refuse any longer officially to recognise said Minister and Consuls, if the British Government does not (after additional representations, which Mr. Buchanan has been instructed to make) recall them.

From India and China.—*Boston, Oct.* 11.—The steamer Canada brings advices from Canton to the 24th of August, from Bombay to the 29th, Shanghai to the 2d, and Hong Kong to the 10th.

The Tsantal rebellion continued in Bengal, but the rebels were beginning to give way. Some 50,000 had assembled in the hill districts.

The pirates of China hold control over the coast for a line of two thousand miles. In the tea districts of Hoonan and Compack, the rebels were in great strength, and trade at Canton was very much restricted.

Modern Discovery.—In the course of a lengthy and able article in the New York *Tribune*, we find the following summing up of the achievements of discoverers within the last quarter of a century:

"Within the last twenty-five years, all the principal features of the geography of our own vast interior regions have been accurately determined; the great fields of Central Asia have been traversed in various directions, from Bokhara and the Oxus to the Chinese Wall; the half-known river systems of South America have been explored and surveyed; the icy continent around the Southern Pole has been discovered; the Northwestern Passage, the ignis-fatuus of nearly two centuries is at last found; the Dead Sea is stripped of its fabulous terrors; the course of the Niger is no longer a myth, and the sublime secret of the Nile is almost wrested from his keeping. The Mountains of the Moon, sought for through two thousand years, have been beheld by a Caucasian eye; an English steamer has ascended the Chadda to the frontiers of the great Kingdom of Bornou; Leichardt and Stuart have penetrated the wilderness of Australia; the Russians have descended from Irkoutsk to the mouth of the Amoor; the antiquated walls of Chinese prejudice have been cracked, and are fast tumbling down, and the canvas screens which surround Japan have been cut by the sharp edge of American enterprise. Such are the principal results of modern exploration. What quarter of a century, since the form of the earth and the boundaries of its land and water were known, can exhibit such a list of achievements?"

Pennsylvania Politics.—*Pittsburgh, Oct.* 9.—The Hon. George Darsie publishes a card in the *Chronicle*, denying that he ever gave any authority to use his name in the card published in the Susquehanna *Republican*, agreeing to the withdrawal of Passmore Williamson's name for Canal Commissioner, and recommending the Republicans to support Thomas Nicholson.

Latest from Norfolk and Portsmouth.—*Baltimore, Oct.* 11.—This morning's boat brings intelligence that the fever has nearly disappeared. Among the deaths is that of Rev. Francis Devlin, of the Catholic Church of Portsmouth, who, throughout the course of the epidemic, had stood firm at his post, administering consolation to the sick and dying.

New York Politics.—*Syracuse, Oct.* 11.—The liquor dealers' and Anti-Prohibitory Liquor Law Conventions fused yesterday, and nominated the same ticket, equally divided between the Hard and Soft Shell nominees, and headed by Aaron Ward for Secretary of State.

Death of the Hon. S. D. Hubbard.—*Middletown, Conn., Oct.* 9.—The Hon. Samuel D. Hubbard, ex-member of Congress, and late Postmaster General under President Fillmore, died at his residence in this city last evening, at the age of fifty-five years. He had been sick with a spinal complaint for some time.

The Kansas Election.—*Chicago, Oct.* 15.—Advices from Kansas state that the election held in that Territory on the 2d instant was controlled by non-resident Missourians, for whose accommodation ferry boats were plying to and fro during the day.

The New Collins Steamer.—*New York Oct.* 14.—It is now decided that Capt. West, of the steamer Atlantic, shall have the command of the new steamer Adriatic, which is being pushed rapidly forward toward completion.

Liverpool, *Sept.* 29, 1855.

*Provision Market.*—Large transactions in beef had taken place, but prices were steady. The stock was considerably reduced, and lower qualities were scarce. Pork in steady demand, at slightly advanced prices. High prices continue for bacon, and but little left in market. The stock of lard in first hands was quite exhausted, and an advance of 3*s.* @ 5*s.* had been established, with sales of 150 tons. Cheese in fair request, but ordinary difficult of sale.

*Freight Market.*—Freights to the United States were quiet, and the late advance was not fully supported. Steerage passengers scarce at £3 5*s.* Dead weight to New York 11*s.* @ 15*s.* Fine goods 15*s.* @ 17*s.* 6*d.* Hardware 12*s.* 6*d.* Earthenware 6*s.*

*Breadstuffs Market.*—No material change has taken place in breadstuffs. The following are the quotations: White wheat 12*s.* @ 12*s.* 6*d.*; red and mixed, 11*s.* @ 11*s.* 9*d.* Western canal flour, 39*s.* @ 42*s.*; Philadelphia and Baltimore, 40*s.* @ 42*s.*; Genesee and Ohio superfine, 42*s.* @ 44*s.* Indian corn—white, 44*s.* @ 45*s.*; yellow, 40*s.* @ 41*s.*; mixed, 40*s.* @ 40*s.* 6*d.* Indian meal, per bbl., 20*s.* @ 21*s.*

## MARKETS.

### BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, October 16, 1855

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flour, Howard Street | $8.37 | @ | 8.50 |
| Flour, City Mills | 8.50 | @ | 0.00 |
| Rye Flour | 6.25 | @ | 6.50 |
| Corn Meal | 4.25 | @ | 4.50 |
| Wheat, white | 2.12 | @ | 2.15 |
| Wheat, red | 1.95 | @ | 2.00 |
| Corn, white | 91 | @ | 92 |
| Corn, yellow | 91 | @ | 92 |
| Rye, Pennsylvania | 1.17 | @ | 1.20 |
| Rye, Virginia | 1.06 | @ | 1.12 |
| Oats, Maryland and Virginia | 35 | @ | 38 |
| Oats, Pennsylvania | 40 | @ | 00 |
| Clover Seed | 7.37 | @ | 7.50 |
| Timothy Seed | 3.75 | @ | 3.87 |
| Hay, Timothy | 22.00 | @ | 25.00 |
| Hops | 18 | @ | 20 |
| Potatoes, Mercer | 0.00 | @ | 0.00 |
| Bacon, Shoulders | 12¼ | @ | 00 |
| Bacon, Sides | 13 | @ | 13½ |
| Bacon, Hams | 13½ | @ | 14½ |
| Pork, Mess | 21.00 | @ | 22.00 |
| Pork, Prime | 20.50 | @ | 21.00 |
| Beef, Mess | 18.50 | @ | 00.00 |
| Lard, in barrels | 11 | @ | 11½ |
| Lard, in kegs | 13¼ | @ | 13½ |
| Wool, Unwashed | 18 | @ | 20 |
| Wool, Washed | 27 | @ | 30 |
| Wool, Pulled | 22 | @ | 27 |
| Wool, Fleece, common | 28 | @ | 33 |
| Wool, Fleece, fine | 40 | @ | 48 |
| Wool, Choice Merino | 30 | @ | 40 |
| Butter, Western, in kegs | 14 | @ | 16 |
| Butter, Roll | 16 | @ | 19 |
| Cheese | 10¼ | @ | 10½ |
| Coffee, Rio | 11¾ | @ | 11⅞ |
| Coffee, Java | 14½ | @ | 15 |

### NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, October 16, 1855.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flour, State brands | $8.62 | @ | 8.50 |
| Flour, State brands, extra | 9.00 | @ | 10.75 |
| Flour, Western | 8.62 | @ | 8.56 |
| Flour, Southern | 9.37 | @ | 0.00 |
| Rye Flour | 5.50 | @ | 6.75 |
| Corn Meal | 4.69 | @ | 0.00 |
| Wheat, white | 2.18 | @ | 2.20 |
| Wheat, red | 1.90 | @ | 2.05 |
| Corn, white | 94½ | @ | 00 |
| Corn, yellow | 94½ | @ | 00 |
| Rye | 1.17 | @ | 1.21 |
| Oats | 46 | @ | 48 |
| Clover Seed | 11.00 | @ | 0.00 |
| Timothy Seed | 4.25 | @ | 0.00 |
| Hay | 70 | @ | 75 |
| Hops | 14½ | @ | 16 |
| Bacon, Shoulders | 8¾ | @ | 9 |
| Bacon, Sides | 6½ | @ | 7 |
| Bacon, Hams | 11 | @ | 11½ |
| Pork, Mess | 23.00 | @ | 24.00 |
| Pork, Prime | 21.25 | @ | 00.00 |
| Beef | 13.00 | @ | 14.00 |
| Lard, in barrels | 11⅝ | @ | 11⅞ |
| Lard, in kegs | 11¾ | @ | 12 |
| Butter, Western | 14 | @ | 18 |
| Butter, State | 20 | @ | 23 |
| Cheese | 9 | @ | 10 |
| Coffee, Rio | 11 | @ | 11½ |
| Coffee, Java | 14½ | @ | 00 |
| Wool, Unwashed | 9½ | @ | 12 |
| Wool, Washed | 40 | @ | 42 |
| Wool, Pulled | 28 | @ | 29 |
| Wool, Fleece, common | 26 | @ | 00 |
| Wool, Fleece, fine | 42½ | @ | 00 |
| Iron, Scotch, Pig | 36.00 | @ | 37.00 |
| Lime, Rockland | 1.12½ | @ | 0.00 |
| Lime, common | 87½ | @ | 00 |

## MARRIAGE.

Married at Lyndonville, September 17th, by Rev. R. T. Smith, Mr. J. R. Cleveland to Miss Theodosia R. Smith, daughter of the officiating clergyman.

## TO EDITORS.

The advertiser intends to reside in Washington during the next session of Congress, and wishes to write letters to one or two daily and as many weekly papers of Free Soil principles. Address "J. C. S., Box 648, Washington, D. C."

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The annexed Statement of Prof. A. A. HAYES, M. D., State Assayer, is ample testimony of the scientific manner in which this medicine is compounded, and recommends it to Professional Men, as worthy a fair trial in their practice:

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"It was a well-founded inference, that the preparation, used in larger or smaller doses, would prove a valuable *General Medicine*, which experience has demonstrated.

"In this medicine, no metallic salts can be found, by the most delicate chemical trials

"Respectfully, A. A. HAYES, M. D.,
"Assayer to the State of Massachusetts.
"No. 1 Pine street, Boston, 16th Dec., 1850."

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If genuine, signed I. BUTTS.

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Sharon, Noble Co., O., Sept. 20, 1855.

## ECCLESIASTICAL NOTICE.

The next Stated Meeting of the Synod of the "Free Presbyterian Church of the United States" will be held in Newcastle, Pennsylvania, on the fourth Thursday of October, at 11 o'clock A. M.

J. R. GIBSON, Stated Clerk.

Frankfort, Ohio, Sept. 28, 1855.

## NEW YORK CENTRAL COLLEGE.

At a meeting of the Trustees of New York Central College, held at McGrawville, September 5th, Elder Asa Caldwell resigned the offices of Treasurer and General Agent. To fill these offices, Benjamin Horton, of McGrawville, was elected Treasurer, and Silas Hammond, of Freetown, General Agent, with power to appoint other agents, who shall report to him.

AZARIAH SMITH, Cor. Sec.

ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,
*No.* 285 *Broadway, New York*,

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Horne, in his "Introduction to the Study of the Bible," says of this edition: "The London quarto edition of 1811 was superintended by the Rev. Messrs. Burder and Hughes, and is very correct. The text of this impression has been followed in the beautifully printed edition of 1827." We have purchased these stereotype plates, (*i. e.*, of the edition of 1827,) and this new edition is printed from them.

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And other celebrated writers.

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FOR SCROFULA, ERYSIPELAS, *and all Diseases o the Skin*, take the Pills freely and frequently, to keep th bowels open. The eruptions will generally soon begin t diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulcers and sore have been healed up by the purging and purifying effec of these Pills, and some disgusting diseases which seeme to saturate the whole system have completely yielded t their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect health Patients! your duty to society forbids that you shoul parade yourself around the world, covered with pimples blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean dis eases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing

TO PURIFY THE BLOOD, they are the best medicin ever discovered. They should be taken freely and fre quently, and the impurities which sow the seeds of incu rable diseases will be swept out of the system like cha before the wind. By this property they do as much goo in preventing sickness as by the remarkable cures whic they are making everywhere.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, *and all Bilious Af fections*, arise from some derangement—either torpidity congestion, or obstructions of the Liver. Torpidity an congestion vitiate the bile, and render it unfit for diges tion. This is disastrous to the health, and the constitutio is frequently undermined by no other cause. Indigestio is the symptom. Obstruction of the duct which emptie the bile into the stomach causes the bile to overflow int the blood. This produces jaundice, with a long an dangerous train of evils. Costiveness, or alternately cos tiveness and diarrhœa, prevails. Feverish symptoms languor, low spirits, weariness, restlessness, and mel ancholy, with sometimes inability to sleep, and sometime great drowsiness; sometimes there is severe pain in th side; the skin and the white of the eyes become a greenis yellow; the stomach acid; the bowels sore to the touch the whole system irritable, with a tendency to feve which may turn to bilious fever, bilious colic, biliou diarrhœa, dysentery, &c. A medium dose of three or fou Pills taken at night, followed by two or three in the morn ing, and repeated a few days, will remove the cause o all these troubles. It is wicked to suffer such pains, whe you can cure them for 25 cents.

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For the National Era.

## THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

### LETTER XXXVIII.

E PRO-SLAVERY CONSTRUCTION DEMOLISH-ED BY HISTORICAL EXPOSITION—Concluded.

*the Friends of American Liberty:*

t is thus historically certain that the States Virginia and Pennsylvania ratified the Con- ution with the "understanding" that it thed Congress with power to abolish Slavery the States.

The friends of Liberty have no occasion, I nk, in view of such facts as these, to qualify modify their constitutional expositions, as nded on an examination of the instrument elf, by any historical reservations or misgiv- gs. They need indulge no apprehensions it "*something of the nature of a compro- se*" must or may have entered into the nsactions of our fathers, in framing or in opting this instrument. There is not the ghtest foundation for the apprehension. On other hand, it is as well established as any gative proposition can be, that nothing of kind *could have taken place.* The facts ow more than the improbability, they even in- cate the impossibility, of any such thing. The certained and attested historical facts cannot shown to consist with the supposition of it. Turn over all the political literature of that iod that has come down to us. Its testimony uniformly on one side. There is the "*Fed- alist,*" written by Madison, Jay, and Hamil- n, members of the Convention, and written the express purpose of persuading the peo- e to adopt the Constitution. Those pages veal the fact that there *were* a number of licate and difficult subjects to be adjusted d harmonized, but, among them all, not the ghtest notice is taken of any such delicate d difficult question as that of Slavery. There as the question between the large and the nall States, whether the small States were to allowed as many Senators as the large States. here was the question respecting the relative sition and powers of the Federal and State overnments. There was the question con- rning the powers of the Judiciary, the inter- ts of navigation, and especially whether the ructure and form of the proposed Government ere sufficiently republican. On these and indred points, the Convention seems to have bored, and sometimes to have encountered rave difficulties.* On these points, too, the igantic authors of the *Federalist* labored, rough the whole of their large volume, and xpended their strength. But not a paragraph o we find discussing that great question con- erning Slavery, with which, it is now pretended, hat Convention was so largely, so laboriously, o painfully occupied, and with such dubious rospects that the Declaration of Independence, he Preamble of the Constitution, and all the iberty-securing provisions and prohibitions of he instrument, had to be contradicted and stultified by a "compromise" in favor of Slavery! A compromise between free and slave States, when all (or all but one) of them were slave States—a "compromise" to propitiate the Southern members, who were distinguished among their fellows by their opposition to Slavery! It is impossible to conceive of such a discussion, such a struggle, such a "compromise" in the Convention, without some corresponding agitations in the country, like those of our own times, of which neither history nor tradition have preserved the least trace. It is preposterous to suppose that such a series of papers could have been written for such a purpose, at such a time, by three such men, one of them a Virginian, two of them New Yorkers, and all three of them opponents of Slavery—one of them, at least, (Jay,) an earnest and practical one—without any account of this great struggle, without any argument in favor of the mode of its adjustment.

And then the revelations of two members of the Convention, Yates and Lansing, some thirty years afterwards, and the posthumous papers of Madison, later still—these, likewise, fail to furnish us with any records of what the prevailing theory assumes to have been the most momentous political struggle the nation ever witnessed!

As well might we be told of a Guy Fawkes Gunpowder Plot under the chambers of the Convention, and of a "Know Nothing" detection of it, and of a "compromise" between the two, as a basis of our Federal Union—as well might we give grave credit to all this, as to the humbug of a constitutional compromise of the slave question. As well might we build constitutional expositions upon the one fiction as upon the other. Of all the expedients for eking out a Pro-Slavery exposition of the Constitution, the *historical* experiment is, undoubtedly, the most shallow, the most impudent one, presuming farthest on the popular stupidity and ignorance.

It was in treating of the Slavery question that Hannah More was tempted to use irony, and to exclaim, (as now we may well do,) "Alas! poor human reason! when wilt thou come to years of discretion?" WILLIAM GOODELL.

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* The problem was *not*, how "the Union" could be formed, nor how it could be kept together, but how the partisans of the old Articles of Confederation and those of a more consolidated Government could be reconciled. The "compromise" was on *that* question, but the dispute raged for years afterwards.

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From the National Intelligencer.

## ELECTIONEERING IN OHIO.

The Cleveland *Plaindealer*, a thoroughgoing Democratic paper, supporting the re-election of Gov. Medill, publishes in its number of the 5th instant the subjoined correspondence from Washington. We regard it as merely an electioneering stratagem, but it is nevertheless significant, as indicating the sentiments of the Democracy of Ohio upon the question to which it alludes:

"GOVERNOR SHANNON TO BE REMOVED."

"WASHINGTON, *October* 2, 1855.

"EDITORS PLAINDEALER: I have information of a reliable character, to the effect that Governor Shannon's course in Kansas has been under review in Cabinet Council, and his removal determined upon. *For this wise decision, the people will heartily respond, Amen.* His speech at Westport was so utterly at variance with the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, so repugnant to the sentiment of the country, and especially to all honorable and fair dealing, that he seems to be without excuse, and there is no alternative left but to give him leave to retire. As in the case of Ex-Governor Reeder, he may have opportunity to explain; but I am of opinion he cannot work himself out of the dilemma into which he so imprudently plunged. *The evidence before the Cabinet is of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of escape on his part;* and the lesson, we trust, will be a salutary one to him in future, 'not to become a meddler in other men's matters.' The people of Kansas were expected to regulate their own affairs, without the interference of Government officials or 'border ruffians;' and when the former violate instructions, their superiors will deal with them according to the law and the testimony; and if the latter attempt to force their opinions and peculiarities upon unwilling minds, they may have a touch of that power sometimes exercised by 'squatter sovereigns' in a summary manner."

Simultaneously with the publication at Cleveland of the above letter, (which was no doubt promptly telegraphed to other parts of the State,) the *Ohio Statesman*, published at Columbus, laid before the public the following communication on the same subject, purporting to have been received that morning from Governor Shannon himself. If genuine, it is the first authentic denial we have seen of the fact of which the Washington correspondent intimates that the Cabinet here has the most conclusive proof:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, SHAWNEE MISSION,
*Kansas Territory, Sept.* 26, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR: I have this moment received information that they are circulating a charge against me, that I made a Pro-Slavery speech at Westport, in Missouri, on my way here. There is not a word of truth in this charge; it is wholly false. In the few remarks I made at Westport, in reply to the welcome they gave me, I said nothing on the subject of Slavery; on the contrary, I remarked that that was a question that I would not discuss. Since I came here, on all occasions I have left that question where the Kansas bill leaves it—to the people, to determine for themselves—and I have on all occasions so stated. This report, no doubt, is put in circulation to affect the elections in Ohio and elsewhere. I hope you will give it, as coming from me, a prompt contradiction. The Kansas *Herald* of the 22d, a strong Pro-Slavery paper, notices this charge, and sets me right, representing me truly on this question. I will send you a copy if I can get one.

Your friend, WILSON SHANNON.
*Col. Samuel Medary.*

Our readers see the tricks resorted to to carry the election for the Administration. Neither of these papers was printed till it was too late to contradict it.—*Ed. Era.*

## LETTER FROM ABIJAH MANN, JUN.,

Candidate of the Republican Convention for Attorney General.

NEW YORK, *October* 9, 1855.

SIR: I possess your letter of the 3d instant, informing me officially of my unanimous nomination as a candidate for election to the office of Attorney General of this State, in a Republican Convention, composed by the union of the late Whig Convention with the Republican Convention assembled at Syracuse on the 27th ultimo, and requesting me to signify my acceptance and my approbation of the sentiments expressed in the resolutions adopted in its proceedings. In doing so, I have been requested by some of my Democratic friends to state briefly the reasons which have led me to my conclusions.

It seems appropriate to the occasion for me to comply with that request, since I differ with many for whose opinions and patriotism I have the most profound respect. They unite with me in condemning the National Administration for its action on the Nebraska-Kansas question—for some of its appointments and removals connected with those Territories—for its repeated attempts to interfere with and control the nominations at conventions—for allowing and requiring its officers to coerce the political opinions of all its dependents and employees; and they admit their sympathy with their friends, whose feelings have been outraged by the Fugitive Slave Law, and the decisions under it, as well as by the claims and advances of Slavery in other respects, to such a degree, that they have come to the conclusion to leave all other political questions to their fate until these things can be righted. I admit myself among this class, and I am encouraged in my course by knowing that I have their sympathy. After all these conclusions, however, they cannot withhold their support to the Administration, although convicted of atrocious violations of the free principles of our institutions, and the personal rights of our citizens, because they apprehend that it is not the most effectual mode of redress, and fear it will terminate in the elevation and success of Mr. Seward, who, it is but just to say, has discharged his duty in respect to the extension of Slavery with consistency to his principles, and with the ability and dignity implied and required by his station. In respect to the mode of redress, although I confidently differ with them, I have long hesitated, in the hope that the political organization to which I have devoted my life, and whose leading and general principles I shall not give up, would rise like a strong man from the morass into which it hopelessly fell in Mr. Polk's Administration. That hope has been deferred until it has produced its natural consequence of making the heart sick. I will not blame them for adhering to it longer, but for one I must, in justice to myself and those who concur with me, surrender it. There is no longer reasonably any ground to hope for redress from that quarter. We have, I think, reached a point where we should make a stand, and defend ourselves, our principles, and our rights, by any honorable means within our power, while we mingle our sympathies with those of our outraged friends. I fear that many have forgotten or have never known the history of the transaction in which those outrages commenced, and by which the Radical Democracy were sold over to Slavery. It is time that they should recollect, and be informed truly. It was no secret, and was communicated to me by Mr. Buchanan while he was a member of Mr. Polk's Cabinet. I regard it, therefore, as authentic. The country was involved in a war with Mexico, to secure Texas, and extend the area of Slavery. Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren had concurred alike that this was both dishonorable and unnecessary. It was becoming burdensome and ruinously expensive. The Administration desired to get out of it by any means whatever. Mr. Polk was a timid man, and more deficient in moral courage than almost any public man of his time.

To effect the treaty with Mexico, it became necessary to have three millions of dollars for the "secret service." The bill was proposed to Congress, and the Jeffersonian Ordinance of 1787, called now the Wilmot Proviso, was proposed as a condition and amendment, providing that Slavery should not be extended to any territory that might be acquired by the expenditure or by the expected treaty. This raised the question between Freedom and Slavery—between free territory and slave territory. The Administration, led on by Mr. Polk, united against Freedom. Ambitious and powerful auxiliaries in the Senate, from the North, were appealed to successfully in the emergency. The House of Representatives stood up firmly at first, but a few of its members soon gave way, under the debilitating influence of patronage; still, not enough to pass the bill. The Administration were receding in popular favor, and reduced to extremities. The Cabinet were alarmed. The heroes of Mexico were already candidates for the Presidency. The throne trembled. In this exigency, Mr. Buchanan was induced to make a personal appeal to his Democratic friends, representing his State, to give up the Proviso of Freedom, and pledged himself to share the fate and hardships they expected to experience from their constituents. This was the origin of his celebrated letter, in hostility to the Proviso, and finally worked out the misfortunes of General Cass, in his subsequent Nicholson letter, from which he has never recovered. The appeal was successful, and the bill passed. The freedom of the Territories was thus sold to Slavery for three millions, which, in this age, is only equivalent to the thirty pieces for treachery in an early and more important transaction. From thence, orders went forth to insert a new article in the creed of the American Democracy, declaring Slavery one of its constituent parts. Herein lies the reason why both divisions of the Democracy always send forward their jubilant "congratulations to the South, on all occasions of its triumphs in Slavery." The three millions and the Democracy of the free States were, by the same act, assigned over to the dictator of Mexico, to procure, corruptly, a peace which it was supposed would secure the power of the Administration in opposition to the heroes of the war, and the Democratic party were thus placed in a false position, in which they have ever since been congratulating themselves upon the blessings expected to be derived from the diffusion and extension of Slavery. They were thus shipwrecked, and ever since have been sailing under the piratical flag of Slavery. Many of our best and most talented young men sunk down with a political paralysis under the load imposed upon them by the Administration, to carry forward the principles and practice of human Slavery. It was their duty to make it national and Democratic, to illustrate it in its progress into the national Territories by the doctrine of squatter sovereignty. This will account for the unfortunate efforts of Mr. Douglas, aided by the Administration, in repealing the Missouri Compromise, as well as the weakness of the position of the late Governor of this State, who suffered himself, with the millstone about his neck, to be made at once the instrument and the victim of these atrocious machinations, the consequences of which are now before us. Among them, are the rebellious divisions of the Democratic party, having no common principles of union or of action, no common ground on which they can stand, fearing to avow honest truth and decided opinions, wanting self-respect as well as the respect of mankind, cherishing heretical doctrines and corrupt practices, obedient to the dictates of patronage, and tamely kissing the rod that scourges them. If we turn our attention to the first political results of this submission of Mr. Polk's Administration to the Slave Power, we see the sacrifice of the lamented Silas Wright and his friends, who refused such submission, and were immediately denounced as rebels against patriotism and the national Democracy. This sacrifice was too great for such an object, and my indignation still causes the blood in my veins to course swiftly, when I recollect the treachery by which it was accomplished, and that, too, towards the man of all others to whom Mr. Polk was most indebted for his political existence. I have lamented, with unceasing bitterness, my active participation in persuading him to take the step which saved Mr. Polk's election, and made himself a victim. It was a fatal mistake, and the consequences are now before us in the extension and diffusion of Slavery into free Territories—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—the existence and perpetual disgrace to our national character of the Fugitive Slave Law—the surrender of the independence and the venality of the Federal Courts—the destruction of the right of personal liberty—the corruption of legislation by the subsidies of patronage—the Executive interference to prevent the freedom of elections, and nominations to office tending to corrupt and undermine the elective franchise, which lies at the basis of our institutions, and upon the free exercise of which the perpetuity of the Constitution and the Union altogether depend. If the farce of an election of the Emperor of the French is recollected, my meaning will be more fully appreciated. We have often been led to wonder why these fatal and aggressive wrongs of Mr. Polk's Administration were not resisted and arrested in Mr. Fillmore's time. The answer is obvious. The towering intellect and more towering ambition of Mr. Webster controlled it. He was the master-spirit of Mr. Fillmore's organization, as much as Mr. Marcy was of Mr. Polk's. He had surveyed the ground upon which Mr. Polk stood in relation to the Ordinance of '87, and saw the array of the Slave Power which stood also upon it. He saw the timid submission of the Democracy of the North to Mr. Polk's policy and patronage. He derived hope from it. His ambition was stimulated by the signs of the times, and be persuaded himself that he could derive power and advantage from the same field of operation. I need not refer to the *denouement* of his plans. It is too recent to have been forgotten. His State abandoned him, and has never since kept time to the music of the dead march in the tragedy of Anthony Burns. Let it be recollected that President Pierce's Administration is essentially only a restoration of Mr. Polk's. They each undertook to carry water on both shoulders, and were well drenched on both sides, the natural consequence. Having contributed my aid to bring them into power, I have had satisfaction in approving of some of their measures, but I cannot follow them to carry Slavery into the temple of Freedom, for with my consent Slavery can never be extended in this or any other country. I am willing to leave it alone where it is—this I regard as my constitutional obligation and duty—trusting that those whose misfortune it is to be connected with it will in their own time discover and apply in their own way a humane and practical remedy for an evil which, without any fault of theirs, they are now suffering.

I have thus briefly pointed to the history of the introduction of the doctrine of Slavery extension, as one of the principles of the Democratic party, and referred to the measures and consequences resulting from it. While one division stoutly repudiates such a principle, they always in practice uphold and vote for the *measures* which depend upon and proceed from the *principle*, as on the passage of the Nebraska bill. The other division are more bold and hardy. They maintain openly, and with manly frankness, at least, both the principle, the practice, and the measures, while they denounce the Administration for not giving to them the exclusive benefits of its patronage as their reward. The Whig party, as heretofore constituted, are also divided, in like manner and in similar proportions, by the same means.

In this state of things among us, the inquiry is, What is to be done? Shall we continue our hopes of redress and our divisions to the Cincinnati Convention next year, where we shall only again exhibit our weakness and want of principle, by our destitution and want of courage, if not of integrity? Does any intelligent man doubt what the result there will be? It is already a foregone conclusion. We shall again be put on board of a slaver, and compelled to navigate the ship by the chart of Mr. Polk's Administration, with the Fugitive Slave Law as our letter of instructions, for the next four years' voyage. For myself, having the light of past experience, and in view of the historical facts to which I have alluded, I cannot consent to sign the articles. Duty, in my opinion, requires me to rebel now. If I do not begin the voyage, I shall not be liable to be punished for mutiny during its progress.

I prefer now to organize in a true position, in order to prepare better for the next campaign. My reasons, therefore, for continuing among those who maintain the Freedom of the land, instead of those who profess Freedom and practice Slavery, are sufficiently obvious to every intelligent and candid mind. In cordially accepting, therefore, this unsolicited nomination which the Convention have so liberally and spontaneously conferred, it is due that I should express my sense of obligation to them for their estimate of my capacity to discharge the duties of the office.

For the obliging terms in which you have communicated their nomination, you will please to accept my best acknowledgments.

I am, sir, faithfully, your obedient servant,
A. MANN, JUN.

*To T. S. Berry, Esq., Secretary*
*of the Republican Convention.*

## ONE OF THE UNSPOTTED.

From the Lockport Journal, October 5.

*How Gov. Hunt voted.*—The Silver Gray and Hindoo newspapers are engaged in the concerted task of proving by the power of simple assertion that Gov. Hunt, last fall, voted the Whig ticket. They deny that he voted the Know Nothing ticket. Though Know Nothings themselves, they profess to consider it an imputation and stain on the Governor to charge *him* with doing as they did. At first blush, this looks not a little singular. As they are his only champions, why not claim him as one of their own number? The reason is, that they are using his name to try to decoy Whigs from the Republican cause—a cause fully identified with the Whigs by the act and ratification of the Whig State Convention. But if they should confess that Gov. Hunt abandoned the Whig ticket a year ago, they would surrender the only chance by which they seek to use him for the advancement of Hindooism.

The Niagara *Courier* has asserted that the Governor did not vote the Know Nothing ticket, and conveys the idea that he actually labored for the success of the regular Whig State nominations. The truth is, that the *Courier* and Gov. Hunt gave the Whig ticket the same kind of support. The *Courier* kept up the Whig nominations in its columns till election, but does any man pretend that the *Courier supported* that ticket? It held it up, the more effectually to kill it. It has been asserted that the result in Niagara county, which gave Gov. Clark a handsome majority, was due to the exertions of Gov. Hunt! So far from this being the fact, Gov. Hunt held no correspondence whatever with the friends of Gov. Clark in Niagara county; he contributed not one cent to the cause; he held no consulations with the regular Committees in the interest of the Whig ticket, but stood off on another tack during the whole campaign. On the contrary, he was in constant communication with the Hindoos; was present at the County Convention when the Hindoos nominated the editor of the *Courier* for County Clerk, after the split in that Convention—congratulated the nominee on his success, when thus nominated—exerted his influence to bring round that nomination, and was a co-operator with them, and them only, during the election. More than all this, his near friends and shadows all worked like slaves to elect the Hindoo county ticket, and constantly vilified the Whig State ticket.

In his own election district, where his mighty influence was directly felt, Ullmann got 129 votes, Seymour 88, and Clark only 38. The Whigs received in the same district in 1853, on State ticket, 120 votes. Was it such men that elected Gov. Clark?

There was not one single other district in the county where the Whig vote made such a small show as this!

Not only did Gov. Hunt's new friends work for the defeat of the Whig ticket—his *horses* did the same service; his team was in active service of the Hindoos, to draw in anti-Clark votes during the day of election.

Nor is this all. Gov. Hunt himself voted the ticket that bore at its mast-head the Hindoo hieroglyphics. What names were in that ticket no one can tell except those who had a personal inspection of the contents; but the exterior, the indorsement and heading, were visible to the naked eye, and that showed the ticket to be of the Hindoo stripe. That he voted such a looking ticket we can prove by testimony in a court of justice, and by a witness whose word will establish any fact capable of being established by human testimony.

And we declare, further, that Gov. Hunt voted for the regular Hindoo nominee for Assembly in this district, Linus Jones Peck. If Gov. Hunt will deny that he voted such a ticket, we will prove yur assertion.

Hunt was a Fusionist last fall—he *fused* with the Hindoos and Hunkers, and gave that fusion the support of his public example at the polls. To wake up at this late day, and exclaim, "*I am still a Whig,*" and opposed to Fusion, had better be told to the marines.

The happy result in Niagara county, which laid out the nominee for Clerk in whose behalf Hunt took such a lively interest, was due to the indomitable labors of other men, and Governor Hunt is not entitled to one sprig of the laurels which crown their brows.

## MEETING IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

At a public meeting of the citizens of Venice and vicinity, at the Associate Church of Miller's Run, in Washington county, Pennsylvania, on the 25th instant, William Berry, Esq., was chosen President of the meeting; and John Berry, sr., and James Moore, Esq., Vice Presidents; and Robert McBurney, Secretary.

After the meeting was duly organized, a very appropriate and feeling address was delivered by the Rev. Joseph R. Thompson, upon the subject of Slavery, in which he demonstrated its inconsistency with the divine law, its inhumanity, and the necessity of our taking a part in the issue now forced upon us, either on the side of humanity or of despotism.

After concluding his remarks, the Rev. A. Donan, from a committee appointed on the subject, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which, on motion, were unanimously adopted:

As Slavery is a great evil, as acknowledged by all rational and intelligent men—

*Resolved,* That we will use all lawful means and instrumentalities in our power to oppose and do it away.

*Resolved,* That we shall have no recourse to secret means or to oath-bound secret associations, in order to advance the civil, political, moral, or religious interests of our country or our fellow men.

*Resolved,* That we are opposed to the withholding of the common rights of citizenship, in our country, from any, on account of the place of their birth, or on account of whatever profession they may make of the Christian religion.

*Resolved,* That we will use our influence and endeavors to have all the different political parties in our State, as Democrats, Whigs, and Know Nothings, to sink their several names and organizations, and join in one grand association for Freedom, and in opposition to the extension of Slavery.

*Resolved,* That we will not vote for any to be an officer in the Government who will not give his voice against the admission of Slavery into any of the Territories, and against receiving into the Union any more slave States, and against Slavery in the District of Columbia, and against the slave trade amongst the States.

*Resolved,* That we will not vote for any belonging to any secret oath-bound society, such as that of the Know Nothings, to fill any place of power or trust in the Government of either the Nation or State.

*Resolved,* That we will not vote for any to be a member of Congress who will not vote for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law.

On motion—

*Resolved,* That the above resolutions be published in the Washington *Commonwealth*, the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, and the *National Era.*

WM. BERRY, *President.*
ROBT. MCBURNEY, *Secretary.*
*September* 25, 1855.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

## THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

There was very general, though we think unjust, complaint last year among those Democrats of our State who condemn the Kansas-Nebraska act, its authors and its consequences, that they were allowed no chance to strike an effective blow for Freedom in Kansas, except by voting an entire Whig ticket. "We are opposed to the Slavery Extensionists," they said, "and ready to show our faith by our works; but we are not Whigs, and do not wish to vote so as to be counted such. Give us a fairly constructed Anti-Nebraska State ticket, and we will support it heartily."

Such a ticket has now been made. Nobody denies it. The candidates are fairly divided between Whigs and Democrats of old, but all now Republican. The Platform is simply and purely Republican. Free Soil Democrats admit that they have been disappointed by the liberality and fairness with which they were met at Syracuse. And they are now rallying to the Republican standard with heartiness and zeal. We are confident that the voters for Preston King next month, who voted for Horatio Seymour last Fall, will number tens of thousands.

The *St. Lawrence Republican* and the *Otsego Democrat* are leading Democratic journals which now support the Republican ticket. The *Evening Post* of last night answered the President's Kansas Manifesto in a leader which of itself would serve to show that its complacency toward "Soft" trimming and truckling has been thoroughly exhausted. The *Post* may or may not directly support the Republican ticket; it manifestly will not oppose it. The *Olean Journal* and the *Cobleskill Journal*, hitherto adverse, have both hoisted the Republican flag. And the *St. Lawrence Democrat*, issued at Canton, the home and grave of Silas Wright, which was the last paper in St. Lawrence county to cling to the "Soft" cause, has finally renounced and denounced the recreancy of its leaders to Freedom, as follows:

"*We go where Democratic Principles Lead the way.—When they disappear, we cease to follow.*" This is the motto with which the *St. Lawrence Democrat* set out, and it is the motto we will follow to the end. We gave our support to the "Soft-Shell" organization, because we supposed more sound Democrats would be found in that organization than in any other. We believe it will not so turn out—certainly not in St. Lawrence county.

"Principles, not men," is one of the old Democratic maxims, from which no sound Democrat can safely depart. We gave to the platform of principles laid down at Syracuse by the "Soft-Shell" Convention, a generous interpretation, and still kept on; but every day and every week is multiplying the evidence that the "Soft-Shell" organization is entirely under the control of those who are determined to carry their party, and all who adhere to it, into the support of the Kansas-Nebraska law, and all its odious consequences of Slavery extension. Soon after the adjournment of the Soft State Convention, the interpretation placed upon the resolutions by those favorable to Freedom was disavowed by the General Committee of New York, and that Committee declared that it was expressly understood that nothing in the Soft resolutions should be construed into opposition to the Nebraska bill.

Well, this was a stumper. But we concluded the General Committee was not the party, and we would not on their account decide against the "Softs." The *Albany Argus*—which now supports the Softs, though it is in a state of betweenity as to the Hards and Softs which we think by no means enviable—has constantly sustained the Nebraska bill, and claimed that the "Soft-Shell" party was its true and reliable supporters in this State; and the *Atlas* has about half the time admitted the same fact, while its columns the other half of the time have been filled with other good and strong facts and reasons to justify repudiation of the "Soft-Shell" platform, organization, and candidates.

We have, lastly, a speech made by ex-Governor Seymour at Tammany Hall, which is made up of two parts. One a distinct and able argument, for so unjust a cause, advocating the Nebraska bill, and ridiculously attributing all the difficulties and all the mobs and disturbances which have excited the country, to "speculations in town and city lots." Hear what Governor Seymour says:

"The political struggles in Kansas heretofore have had reference mainly to the power of building up towns by establishing the sites of the capitals and county seats. Those who are earnestly and deeply anxious on the question of Slavery would be somewhat surprised by a close and local inquiry into the views and purposes of parties in Kansas. It may be said the numbers which have already gone into Kansas from Missouri show that its citizens will monopolize this Territory. Hitherto, emigration there has been controlled by a desire to secure town lots."

This is asking a little too much, even for a request made by Governor Seymour. We cannot stultify ourselves by affecting to believe that Slavery extension has had but little or nothing to do with the passage of the Nebraska bill and the troubles in Kansas—and that it is, after all, all a mere "speculation in town and city lots."

The other part of Governor Seymour's speech is an argument against the principle of prohibition, or legal restraint of the sale of liquor. He does not confine himself to the Maine law, but he goes against the principles of prohibition.

We have just received this speech, and it appears by the papers to be recognised by the Soft party and their organs at New York and Albany as an authoritative *exposé* of the doctrines of the party. We cannot support them. We are opposed to the Nebraska bill, and, while we have regarded the Prohibitory liquor law, passed last winter, as one which experience shows requires modification and amendment, yet we are for temperance, and believe that the principle of prohibition is right, and that some just and proper legal restraint against the indiscriminate sale of every kind of poisonous liquor is required by the public good. This, our readers will bear witness, has been the uniform view expressed by this paper. We cannot shift and change our opinions with every change of the wind.

These are good and sufficient reasons why we should repudiate the Soft-Shell Convention, platform and ticket. If there were no other, we might with entire propriety repudiate them for these reasons, and refuse to sustain such doctrines, or the candidates who adopt and accept them; but there is a still stronger reason, one which would be sufficient of itself. We allude to the action of the Republican Convention, and the union of both Whigs and Democrats in one glorious Republican party, with a declaration of principles that no sound Democrat can dissent from, and candidates who are capable, honest, and true men.

We were—we will frankly confess it—we were suspicious that it might be turned into an operation to promote the objects of our old political opponents. But we have looked with admiration and gratification at the proceedings of the Republican State Convention. All was open, fair, and above-board. The union of all parties there consummated, was formed for the preservation of the principles of constitutional liberty. Such a union has long been wanted. We publish the Republican platform, and adopt it. We put the Republican candidates at the head of our paper, and shall support them. We enroll the *St. Lawrence Democrat* as a volunteer in the Republican party.

## THE ELGIN SETTLEMEMT, CANADA WEST.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

I enclose an article, taken from the Toronto *Globe*, full of interest to the colored man and his friends. If you will insert it in your columns, you will do a great favor to a large number of persons throughout the country. I happen to know the writer, who is a respectable gentleman at Toronto. His statements may be relied upon. Mr. King I have long known by reputation. He is doing well for the colored population of Canada. I trust that the facts in the article will greatly encourage our colored friends. They will have fresh experience of the truth of the saying, "God helps those who help themselves." They are very encouraging also to the friends of the colored man. We are not laboring in vain nor spending our strength for naught. Give the colored man the opportunity—remove crushing disabilities—treat him as equal before the law—and he will soon demonstrate his native equality.

Yours, truly, LEWIS TAPPAN.

## A VISIT TO THE ELGIN SETTLEMENT.

From the Toronto Globe.

In company with several friends, both male and female, I paid a visit lately to the "Elgin Settlement," and although expecting much, I was not prepared to find matters in such a flourishing condition. The readers of the *Globe* are already partially acquainted with the history of this Settlement. At different periods, attempts were made to improve the physical and social condition of the colored persons, who, having escaped from the despotism of the United States Republic, sought an asylum and a home on the free soil of monarchical Britain. Settlements were formed in different localities, but, from some cause or other, none of them prospered long—difficulties arose, and it began to be surmised that the black man was an intractable sort of being, incapable of improvement under any management; and especially, that as a tiller of the soil he was utterly useless. Several benevolent gentlemen, having deliberated over the matter, came to the conclusion that the experiment had not been fairly and fully tested; that there were peculiar circumstances which operated prejudicially in the previous cases, and that at least another effort should be made on a proper scale, and with suitable instrumentalities. Accordingly, about 1848, certain individuals in Toronto, Hamilton, and elsewhere, formed themselves into an "Association for the settlement and moral improvement of the colored population of Canada," procured an act of incorporation from the Legislature, and, with the aid of the Rev. William King, set themselves to work out in earnest the contemplated scheme. With this object in view, about nine thousand acres of land were selected in the township of Raleigh, in the country of Kent; and on the 22d October, 1849, some 4,300 acres of this block were secured from Government. Since that time, additional purchases have been made; and the Settlement is now six miles long by about three miles wide. The lands were divided into lots of fifty acres each, and are sold only to actual colored settlers of approved moral character at the rate of $2½ per acre. The first instalment has to be paid down at the time of purchase, and the balance in nine equal annual instalments, with interest.

On the 3d December, 1849, the first settler entered upon this land, and, from that time to the present, yearly additions have been made, so that almost the whole of the land has been occupied by actual settlers. The houses are all erected on a uniform plan, after a certain model. They stand about 33 feet distant from a road 66 feet wide, which runs past each lot, and are built of round logs, 18 by 24 feet, and 12 feet high, with a gallery running along the length of the front. The space between the house and the road is tastefully laid out in grass plots or planted with shrubbery—the whole, together with a small garden at the end of each house, being surrounded by a picket fence. While none may build houses inferior to the model, all may surpass it as far as they please. Several have availed themselves of this license, and have constructed larger and more commodious dwellings. The first house that attracted our attention, on entering the Settlement, was a two-story brick one, which was built by Alfred H. Mest, and is kept by him as a hotel on Temperance principles. Passing this, we soon arrived at the Mission Church and School House—small, neat buildings, somewhat like porter lodges at the entrance of the avenue leading up to the dwelling-house of the Rev. Mr. King, who resides on the premises, superintending and guiding all the affairs of the Settlement. Acting both in a civil and ecclesiastical capacity, he is the moving spirit who keeps all the parts of the machine, so to speak, in harmonious working. He is regarded throughout the settlement as the King whom all are bound to obey, and, to judge from what I witnessed, the obedience of the settlers was no less implicit than their confidence and respect were sincere and profound.

In order that education and morality might progress *pari passu* with the physical improvement around, a school house and church were erected at the very commencement of the Settlement, and both, I am glad to find, have been regularly and well attended throughout. Several of the colored children, of whom 150 have been attending school during the year, have made very creditable progress in their studies, and some of them can translate Latin and Greek with considerable facility. The girls are studying music; and to hear the notes of the piano-forte, under such circumstances, was as pleasing as it was unexpected. The church is under the pastoral care of Mr. King, who is paid by the Free Church of Canada. The moral condition of Buxton is good. Nothing that intoxicates is made or sold on the lands. The Sabbath, I am informed, is generally observed as a day of rest, and peace and harmony reign throughout. The first sounds that greeted our ears were those of prayer and praise, a weekly prayer meeting being held in the minister's house. On these occasions, there is generally a good attendance.

In company with Mr. King, I visited as much of the lands as my time would permit, and with all I saw I was highly gratified. During the past year, a new steam saw and grist mill was erected, and is in full working order. This will prove of eminent service to the settlers, who can now procure at hand the lumber required for building purposes, and thus afford to make more extensive improvements. Besides, in the winter season they can haul to the mill logs enough to pay for their lumber—thus clearing their farms, and at the same time providing material for keeping the mill in motion. There are some eight men employed in hauling and cutting logs, which are of the best oak, white ash, hickory, maple, and button-wood. It was a pleasant sight to see them all so profitably employed, and all so happy and energetic looking. There is a compound corn mill attached, but it was not in motion during my visit. Upwards of 100 barrels of pearl ashes were turned out of their factory during the last eight months. The quantity of land at present clear and under fence is 827 acres. There are, in addition, 216 acres chopped down, and ready for fall and spring crops. There is a large quantity of wheat sown this season, some 180 acres being under crop. Three hundred and forty acres are planted with corn, 50 with potatoes, 40 with oats, and 200 with hay, buckwheat, and turnips. There is also a considerable quantity of tobacco raised, and it is said to be of a superior quality.

The following is the financial statement of the affairs of the Association, as given in the report for the present year: "The present liabilities of the Association amount to £2,944 19*s.* 2*d.*; that is, to Government, for land and interest, £2,211 3*s.* 6*d.*; stockholders, for instalments and interest, £733 15*s.* 8*d.* The assets amount to £3,539 12*s.* 10*d.*; that is, for land sold, and interest thereon, £3,352 2*s.* 10*d.*; land unsold, £187 10*s.*; leaving a balance of assets, to meet the current or ordinary expenses of the Association, of £594 13*s.* 8*d.*"

In order to estimate aright the progress that has thus been made, it is necessary to observe that the settlers have not been permitted to receive any extraneous aid. Most of them entered the lands destitute of means, and having to rely solely on their own labor for support. It is wisely said that the spirit of independence will thus be generated, and, instead of those begging customs which have tended to the ruin of other places, habits of industry and frugality will prevail. What the colored man needs, on his arrival in Canada, is not so much money or clothes as the means of earning both for himself. Of course, temporary aid, in many cases, is absolutely necessary, but this is only for periods of very limited duration. Mr. King and the committee, in conducting the affairs of the Association, act upon this principle, and they do so wisely.

I might say much more of a similar encouraging character regarding this settlement, but enough has been told to prove that under proper management the black man is capable of success, even in agricultural pursuits, as the white one, and that the social and moral habits of the Ethiopian, when properly directed, are not inferior in any respect to those of the European. To the gentlemen who, in the spirit of benevolence and philanthropy, originated this Settlement, and to the Rev. William King, who has so wisely and energetically, and with such unflagging zeal, carried out their plans and intentions, the public are largely indebted. So long as the colored man resides amongst us, it is of the utmost consequence to society that his intellectual and moral faculties be cultivated, and that he be allowed the freest scope for the acquisition of physical good. By helping him to overcome the degrading and brutalizing effects of his training while a slave, we thereby not merely aid him in exhibiting to the world that he is fitted for freedom, but do much to hasten that day, which cannot be much longer deferred, when the bonds shall fall from the limbs of the oppressed, and when all in every land shall be put in the possession of those inalienable, because Heaven-given rights, "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Of our visit to Buxton, and of the pleasant drive along the banks of Lake Erie which we enjoyed on our return, we shall long cherish many pleasing remembrances.

## GENERAL CONVENTION OF RADICAL POLITICAL ABOLITIONISTS,

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,

On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, October 23d, 24th, and 25th, 1855.

*By appointment of a similar Convention in Syracuse, New York, in June last.*

The undersigned, a Committee of Arrangements appointed by the "Central Abolition Committee," are authorized by said Committee to invite a General Convention of "Radical Political Abolitionists" in Boston, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, October 23d, 24th, and 25th, 1855, for the purpose of discussing the *Illegality and Unconstitutionality of Slavery*, and the Power of the Federal Government over Slavery in the States.

Also, to provide means for propagating the sentiments and advocating the measures of "Radical Political Abolitionists," and, if judged best, to organize for that object a

NATIONAL ABOLITION SOCIETY.

Among those expected to be in attendance, and take part in the proceedings, are Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tappan, S. S. Jocelyn, Frederick Douglass, A. Pryne, L. C. Matlack, A. G. Beman, the undersigned, and others, who may be announced hereafter.

WILLIAM GOODELL,
JAMES McCUNE SMITH,
Committee of Arrangements.

*New York, August* 23, 1855.

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A PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE.
E. S. HAMLIN and A. M. GANGEWER, Editors.

*The Columbian* is a weekly newspaper, published every Wednesday, on a handsome sheet, at the city of Columbus, Ohio, the Capital of the State.

In Politics, it will advocate the cause and support the policy of the Independent Democracy; it will labor to secure the Rights of Man, and will oppose whatever violates or tends to violate the Equality of Rights. It will oppose Class Legislation, Involuntary Personal Servitude, and all the various devices by which the few seek to subjugate the many to their rule. It will aim to spread abroad the blessings attendant upon Free Labor and Free Institutions. Recognising the law of Progress, it will lend its hearty support to every practicable and just measure for the promotion of Industrial Prosperity, Peace, Liberty, Education, Temperance, and the welfare of the Agricultural and working classes.

It is a well-known fact, that the Slave Power, that stupendous Monopoly, which grows fat on the unpaid labor and degradation of the enslaved race, has for years sought to extend its dominion by the increase of Slave soil. For this purpose it involved us in a War with Mexico, it has annulled the Missouri Compromise, a compact made sacred by the favor of a generation of men; and it now seeks to establish itself permanently in Kansas, on soil heretofore free. It is from its nature aggressive; and it behooves the People to take measures to stay its progress. This power, grown haughty by success, elects our Presidents, controls our Politics, dictates our Foreign and Domestic Policy, moulds our Politicians, and bends the so-called National Parties to achieve its purposes. The signs of the times indicate that new combinations are forming to subject anew the free spirit of the North to the machinations of this stupendous Monopoly.

*The Columbian* will be an advocate of personal, civil and religious Liberty, without regard to race or creed; it will give no sanction to secret (oath-bound) political combinations to control the ballot-box, whether under the direction of Priests or others, regarding them as of dangerous tendency under a Republican form of Government. Christianity and Republicanism alike recognise the Individual Rights and Duties of every man, and we believe in the right of private judgment in all matters, whether of religion or politics. We regard Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as the great Political Question of the Day, and we trust the People will beware of all combinations calculated, if not designed, to call off their attention from this giant Evil, lest, mayhap, some of those who hate Oppression be found unwittingly aiding the Oppressors. Believing the principles of equal and exact justice which we advocate to be right, and such as God approves, and invoking His guidance to advance them, we commend our enterprise to the favor of all friends of Human Progress.

*The Columbian*, while occupying a decided position in *Politics*, will contain various Literary, Miscellaneous, and News articles of interest. It shall be our aim to make it a good *Family Newspaper*, and we trust the friends of the cause will endeavor to increase its circulation.

Letters containing subscriptions, &c., may be forwarded by mail at my risk, to be addressed to

A. M. GANGEWER,
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